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CATECHISM OF MUSICAL HISTORY

VOL. II.

RIEMANN

AUGENER LTD., LONDON

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AUGENER'S EDITION No. 9203

CATECHISM

OF

MUSICAL HISTORY

BY

Dr. H. RIEMANN

PART II.

THIRD IMPRESSION

AUGENER LTD.
LONDON

BOSTON MUSIC Co.
BOSTON

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Printed in England.

AUGENER LTD., MUSIC PRINTERS, 287 ACTON LANE, W.

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BOOK III.

HISTORY OF MUSICAL FORMS.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

THE PRACTICE OF MUSIC IN ANTIQUITY.

139. What is known of the practical music of the ancient Egyptians and Assyrians, of the forms which music developed with them?

As no music in the Egyptian notation has been preserved, we are limited to inferences drawn from pictorial representations, and to the reports, given in later times of course, by Grecian writers. According to these, music considerably enhanced the solemn effect of the Divine service. The solemn processions through the sphinx avenues and statues of Osiris to the most sacred place of the Temple, were preceded by singers and players of instruments; music mingled in the funeral services, singers proclaimed the deeds and merits of the dead with musical accompaniments and pantomimic dances; and military processions, coronation festivals and feasts, borrowed from music both brilliancy and pomp. Everywhere we meet with music as the companion of poetry and dancing. Independent instrumental music we are apparently not justified in assuming. On the other hand, the national air — the simple lyric song, appears to have been familiar even in Egypt from very ancient times; simple airs were sung at work, while thrashing, rowing or drawing water; the returning Spring was greeted, and the dying of the blossoms lamented. The last is particularly recorded by Herodotus, who heard in Egypt the so-called Maneros song, which was known in Greece also, under the name of the Linus

Lament, the lament for a young man snatched away in the bloom of youth. It appears, however, that the rigid conservatism of the Egyptian nature put even music in chains, so that in it also, what remote antiquity had sanctioned was esteemed and practised, but there was no freedom of development. With the Assyrians and Babylonians, music was apparently more voluptuous, more an article of luxury at feasts and processions; it was therefore less esteemed, and not the affair of priests and kings, but of hired slaves.

140. Does the practical development of the music of the Chinese correspond with their richly developed tone-system, and with the variety of their instruments, some of which were excellently constructed?

Scarcely. The newer music of the Chinese appears to Western nations as a meaningless jumble as soon as instruments are used in ensemble. The solo singing is not without melodic charm and rhythmical sense, though often *baroque* and out of character. Some old Temple songs, which have been faithfully preserved from ancient times, keep within the scale of five degrees, and are full of dignity, as is also the song sung every year in presence of the Emperor at the service for the dead (solemnities in honour of ancestors). But old secular melodies also show the same archaic stamp, while others, sailors' songs, for instance, do not dispense with the semitone step. Common time appears to be the only one known to the Chinese.

141. Does the music of the Indians form a nearer approach to Western music than the Chinese?

It appears so. At least the examples of sacred and secular songs furnished us by collectors, have a more strongly defined feeling of tonality, and are rhythmically more regular and more lively in form. Triple time with them appears to play a prominent part. Compared with the music of the Chinese, Indian music seems more original, the production of a more passionate and warmer feeling. The connection of music with dancing has an advantageous influence upon the development of rhythm. But of the independent instrumental music of the Indians likewise, we know nothing; on the contrary, in regard to all ancient cultivated nations as well as uncivilized peoples, we find the same fact, viz., the constant combination of the three rhythmical arts: — dancing, music and poetry.

142. What do we know of the forms of Hebrew music?

Nothing positive. Perhaps, from the peculiarity of the poetry designed for combination with music (e. g., the Psalms), namely that of expressing the same thought twice in different words, we might suppose a similar parallel form of the melodic structure. The Hebrew melodies extant cannot be positively proved to be such, for the Temple songs differ entirely in different parts of the world, so that we may assume the old tradition to have been at least influenced by much taken from other nations. We can scarcely err in concluding that perhaps the most authentic remains of Hebrew music are preserved in the Gregorian chant, particularly in the Hallelujah melodies. But if we reflect how little the original rhythm has been preserved in the Gregorian chant, positive inferences are even thence scarcely possible. Clement of Alexandria says of the Hebrew songs, that they were spondaic and written in the Dorian mode; that is, they were serious in character and of moderate speed. This, however, is again contradicted by other witnesses, who make shouting and jubilation conspicuous in the praise of the Highest. With the Hebrews also, word and note are inseparable; that is, their music is vocal music, and dancing readily accompanies it. Thus Miriam, as she begins her song of victory, takes up the timbrel, that ancient instrument for accompanying the dance, which was known even to the Egyptians.

143. Did the Greeks, the classical people famous for the perfection of their forms, develop a regular teaching of form, and fix definite forms of composition?

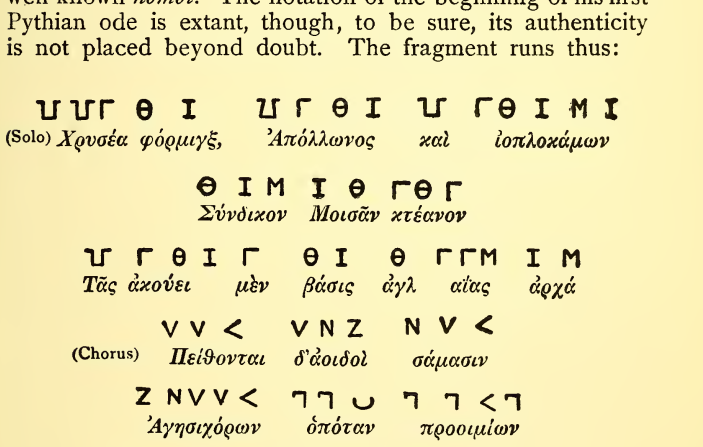
Yes; but of course we must not imagine them to have been the forms of modern music; with the Greeks likewise, music was always connected with poetry, and still remained so when purely instrumental music, in the shape of music for the cithara and aulos, came into favour, as the melodies performed by instruments only were imitated from those composed to poetry. That which raises the music of the Greeks far away above that of all other peoples, is the fact that it appears for the first time as a free art, not only in the service of religion as with the Egyptians, nor merely to enhance pomp and luxury as in Babylon and Nineveh, but as the noblest exercise of the human mind, sprung from the God-like impulse of creation, existing for itself alone and self its only object. But in Greece also, in the remotest times, in the form of hymns

in praise of the gods, or for the glorification of the national heroes, music appears combined with poetry. The Aœdes of the time of the Trojan war (12th century B. C.) sang, in a manner half recitative with the accompaniment of harp-like instruments (phorminx), the fame of the gods and heroes, and similarly rhapsodists, later, recited fragments from the Iliad or Odyssey; the uniform flow of the metre and the absence of a division into strophes, necessitated, with such recitatives, a melody corresponding with the single verse (hexameter), which melody, according to the requirements of each succeeding word, its number of syllables and accent, underwent slight alterations, but in its essentials probably remained about the same. Celebrated singers of this remote time are, the entirely mythical Orpheus, Amphion, Thamyris, Olen the inventor of the song of epic metre; further, Chrysothemis (the first citharode, who sang the Pythian hymn to Apollo), Pieros, Philammon, Demodocus (who sang the destruction of Troy, the marriage of Aphrodite and the Hephæstus) and Phemius, who celebrated the return of the Greeks from Troy under Agamemnon. The Linus song, sung at the time of vintage, a lament for the death of Linus, a youth descended from the gods and torn to death by mad dogs, is very ancient, as are likewise the Jalemos and Threnos (the general lamentation for the dead), as well as, on the other hand, the glad jubilant pæan (the song of victory), the hymenæus (marriage song) and the Comus (the wild final song at feasts). The singers, even in those pre-historic times, were highly esteemed, and art, as it appears, descended by inheritance from father to son, so that there were families of singers. But Achilles, for example, was also skilled in playing on strings. The Greeks also knew the national air; that is, they sang for exhilaration at work, and for recreation after work; the shepherd sang, or played the flute, to banish the tediousness of solitude; the mother sang lullabies to her child; the beggar sang begging-songs, etc. Of course, these national airs were of the simplest structure as regards text, and correspondingly simple in regard to musical arrangement. But Greek music received an impetus towards higher artistic development after the Dorian migration (about 1000 B. C.), especially in the Spartan states founded by the Dorians. The first musicians about whom we have information, are the flutist Ulympos, an immigrant from

Mysia, and the cithara player Terpander, from Lesbos. The former is known as the inventor, if only indirectly, of the enharmonic tone-genus (cf. 116), as well as the founder of artistic flute-playing in Greece; the latter, on the other hand, preferred cithara-playing, and became in a still higher degree the founder of a school; he is also said to have been the first who fixed seven as the number of strings in the cithara. In 676, he won the first place in the art contests of Apollo Carneius; and he is also said to have won four times at Delphi in the Pythian games, then not yet regularly celebrated. Of Terpander of this time, and Clonas of Tegea or Bœotia who lived only a little later, we know that they composed tunes *(nomoi)*, which received definite names; the citharodic *nomoi* of Terpander were: the *nomos* Boiotios, Aiolios, Trochaios, Oxys, Kepion, Tetraoidios and the specially so-called Terpandric; the aulodic nomoi of Clonas, and of Polymnestes of Colophon rather later, are, the *nomos* Apothetos, the Elegos, Komarchios, Schoinion, Kapion, Epikedeios and Trimeres. It is related of Terpander, that he combined dithyrambic melodies with epic verses. To Ulympos also, some *nomoi* are attributed *(Polycephalus, Hermetrius)*. New tunes were invented by Archilochus, who flourished after Terpander, and introduced more popular, iambic rhythms, in place of the dactylic metre (hexameter) solely in use. Thaletes of Gortyna in Crete, a pupil of Ulympos, about 700, also belongs to this flourishing period in Spartan music; he was the first composer of war-dances *(gymnopædia, pyrrhics, hyporchemata)* and the improver of the pæan. For further improving the lyric metre (parthenia, love songs, etc.) great honour is due to Alkman, who lived in Sparta about 660. The choral lyrics were promoted by Stesichorus of Metaurus in south Italy; his real name was Tisias ("Instituter of choruses" was his nickname); by making use of the form in three sections, viz.: strophe, antistrophe and epode, he first gave choral song its subsequently standard form (corresponding to the two *Stollen* and to the *Abgesang* of middle high German poetry). It was not in Sparta but in Corinth (about 600) that Arion the friend of the tyrant Periander laboured; he was the creator of the artistic choral dithyramb from which tragedy developed later (the chorus moved in a circle round the altar of Dionysus, whence it was called *κύκλιος χόρος*, cyclic

chorus). The songs consisted of strophes and antistrophes without epodes (v. above); before the time of Arion they were wild, excited and orgiastic, with no artistic order. The reform of the dithyramb, begun by Arion, was continued by Lasus of Hermione (about 500), Simonides of Ceos, Pindar and others; from the time of Melennippides of Melos, about 400, they again inclined to the side of rhythmical freedom, especially in the works of Philoxenus, Kinesias, Phrynis of Mytilene and Timotheus of Miletus (died 357) through whom the dithyramb was given up to virtuoso soloists. Disguise had already been introduced by Arion. In the meantime, a centre for the art contests had been created at Delphi, by the settlement of a fixed period for the celebration of the Pythian games (every five years from 586). Even at the first Pythian festival, Sacadas of Argos succeeded in placing solo flute-playing on an equality with cithara-playing. Sacadas is also famous as a composer of elegies, an artistic species of composition cultivated, especially by Tyrtæus of Miletus, even in the flourishing period of Spartan art; they were originally funeral songs with flute accompaniments, but from the time of Callinus, Asius, Mimnermus and Tyrtæus, those with political contents preponderated, in the form known as the combination of hexameter and pentameter in continual interchange. Theory too, had meanwhile been brought by Pythagoras (born 680) into a scientific path. And one can hardly err in assuming, that the theoretical consideration of the notes and of tone-relationship essentially accelerated the process of completing the tone-system, and therefore of increasing the variety of practice. Greek lyric reached its summit of perfection in Alcæus of Mytilene (about 612); Sappho (about 628 to 568 at Mytilene); Anacreon of Teos, who lived from 540 to 522 at the court of Polycrates in Samos (later at Athens and Abdera); Myrtis, the teacher of Corinna; Corinna of Tanagra in Bœotia (about 509), the teacher of Pindar; and finally Pindar himself, born in 522 at Cynoscephalæ near Thebes (died 442), the greatest lyric poet of the Greeks. Pindar composed songs of every kind: — dithyrambs, pæans, epiniciæ (triumphal songs in honour of the victors at the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, a great number of which are preserved), *parthenia*, *hyporchemata*, *scolia* (artistic drinking-songs), etc. The regard shown him was extraordinary; he

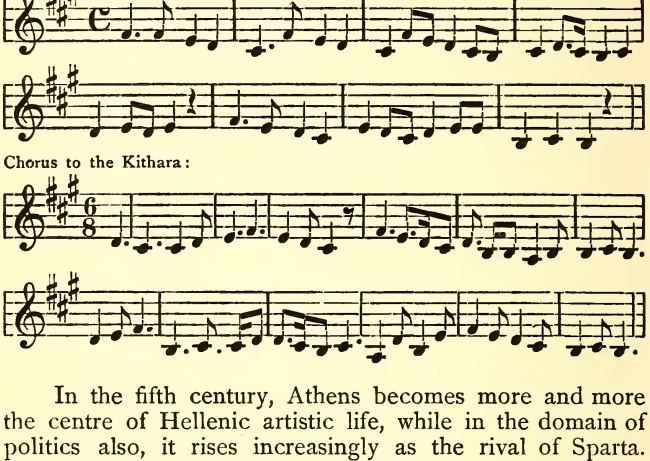
stood in friendly relationship with the chiefs Theron of Agrigentum, Hiero of Syracuse, Amyntas of Macedonia, etc.; in Delphi, at command of the Pythoness, the highest honour was conferred upon him, that of being a regularly invited guest at the theoxenia (banquet of the gods), and Athens made him an honoured guest (proxenos). When Alexander the Great destroyed Thebes nearly 200 years later he commanded that Pindar's house should be spared. The epiniciae (odes) of Pindar have always the epodic divisions; i. e., they divide into strophe, antistrophe and epode, the antistrophe being an exact imitation of the strophe, but the epode of different metre. Pindar himself was also a composer, but probably wrote many of his odes to old well-known *nomoi*. The notation of the beginning of his first Pythian ode is extant, though, to be sure, its authenticity is not placed beyond doubt. The fragment runs thus:



(The conclusion of the strophe is wanting).

The solo part of the Coryphæus is written in vocal notation, the chorus in instrumental notation. The key is the hypo-Lydian (low hypo-Phrygian), i. e., if we regard the Dorian as the fundamental scale (A minor), F♯ minor; therefore, regarding the rhythm of the text as fixing that

of the melody, the composition might perhaps be thus rendered:



In the fifth century, Athens becomes more and more the centre of Hellenic artistic life, while in the domain of politics also, it rises increasingly as the rival of Sparta. At Athens, in the worship of Dionysus in Lemæa, the dithyramb developed into tragedy. Thespis, about 536, already transferred the principal part to one actor, and the chorus thus retired to a more limited contemplative position. Phrynichus and Chœrilus (of Samos) were the first who went beyond the Dionysus myth; the former represented the taking of Miletus by the Persians, and moved the public to tears; but he was punished because he recalled to mind a humiliation of the fatherland. His description of the misfortunes of the Persians after the battle of Salamis, repaired the fault. Pratinas of Phlius (about 500) founded the satyric play or lively piece following the tragedy, in which also the choral singing adopted lively airs and wild rhythms; Chœrilus and Æschylus followed him in this. Æschylus associated a second actor with the first and only one hitherto, so that dialogue became possible. Real actions, i. e., deeds (combat, murder, etc.), antique tragedy did not bring upon the stage, but announced them by messengers; its object was rather the representation of the conditions of mind induced by the events, their development and refining. The part which music

took was a great one, inasmuch as all the choruses were sung (and danced in measured movement in a circle round the Thymele). But the more tragedy in its further development became actual drama, the more the importance of the chorus diminished, and at last it became an ideal spectator, commenting with its reasonings upon the decisions of the acting characters, whose number gradually increased to three or more. Tragedy was divided into the Prologue (that part of the action which precedes the entry of the chorus), the Parodos (entry of the chorus) the Epeisodion (re-entry of the actors) and the Exodus (after the last chorus). All the intermediate choral songs were called *stasima*; i. e. standing or stationary songs. All the choral songs were divisible into strophes and antistrophes, both alike in metre, and without doubt sung to a like melody. When antique tragedy was at its highest development (Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides about 500 to 400) it was the custom in Athens, at the Dionysian festivals, to hold contests in tragedy. For this, each of the competing poets had to appear with four dramas — three tragedies related to one another in their contents, and a satyric drama. A four-fold drama of this kind was called a tetralogy. Thus Æschylus wrote an Orestes tetralogy, consisting of *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphori*, the *Eumenides* and the satyric play *Proteus* (the three tragedies are preserved); further, a Persian tetralogy *(Phineus*, *the Persians*, *Glaucus* and *Prometheus*), a Lycurgus tetralogy, and an Œdipus tetralogy *(Laius*, *Œdipus*, *the Seven against Thebes* and *the Sphinx)*. Euripides wrote an Alcestes tetralogy, which consisted of four tragedies, the last with a happy ending: — the *Cretan Women*, *Alcmæon in Psophis*, *Telephus* and *Alcestis*; also a Medea tetralogy and a Troad tetralogy. Sophocles is said to have written 113 dramas, partly, also belonging together in groups; but in his time the custom arose of performing piece against piece at the contests, not whole tetralogies. Contemporaries of Æschylus were, the tragic poets Aristias and Polyphradmon; contemporaries of Euripides were, Xenocles, Philocles and Meletus. Like tragedy, comedy also arose from the Dionysus culte, but formed the cheerful side of it. Its origination is ascribed to the Athenian Susarion (580). Other comic poets of the oldest period (to about 400) are, Cratinus, Crates, Eupolis, Pherecrates, Phrynichus, and before all Aristophanes. Comedy

attained prominent political importance, as the most exalted personages of the state were without scruple brought upon the stage, and cleverly criticised. The part of the chorus, which was also sung, was quite similar to that in tragedy, only the *stasima* were left out and were replaced by the *parabasis*, in which the chorus turns directly to the public, and, as we should say now, sings couplets with political hits. The dance in comedy was called *kordax*, and was extravagantly merry, often lascivious. Later, comedy loses its satirical importance, and becomes comedy in the present sense (Antiphanes, Alexis).

The falling off in the significance of the chorus towards the end of the classic period, made music more and more easily dispensed with, so that it gradually disappeared from the drama entirely, and the Roman tragedies and comedies copied from the Grecian, seem not to have taken it up. On the other hand, the dithyramb, released from the drama, now develops anew as a *virtuoso* piece with artistic figures *(colorature)* and an over-artificial use of the chromatic and enharmonic genus. While Plato and Aristotle still come within the classic period, the latter's pupil, Aristoxenus of Tarentum (about 320), belongs to the time of the decline of music, which about dates from the time of the loss of Grecian independence (battle of Chæronea 338). Aristoxenus laments over it, and longs for the old times back again. A new centre of Greek intellectual life now arose in Alexandria, although in regard to music it produced only theorists (Euclid, Ptolemy). Music descended gradually to the rank of a dishonoured handmaid at the voluptuous feasts of the time of the Roman Empire, which more and more assumed Oriental luxury.

NINTH CHAPTER.

THE GREGORIAN CHANT.

144. In what forms were the oldest chants of the Christian church written?

Christianity was not a new religion, but the fulfilment of the predictions of the prophets. It is therefore to be

supposed that just in the first centuries the Jewish service would be retained in its chief forms by the Christians, with the addition, naturally, of the celebration of the chief moments in the life of Jesus. Christ stepped, not into the place of the God of the old Covenant, but beside Him. There was therefore no necessity for doing away with the old Temple songs, and it seems quite natural that the psalm-singing passed at first unchanged into the Christian church. Indeed, the first Christians even attended the Temple at Jerusalem regularly, as the apostolic history expressly declares; but the sacramental supper in memory of Christ they celebrated at home. How far the old psalm-singing (i. e., the singing of entire psalms, in imitation of the Jews, which Pope Gelasius [about 496] is said to have limited), was really singing, or only that kind of half recitative performance still called in Germany *psalmodieren* ("psalmodizing"), must remain undetermined. Presumably, the Jews, as was the case with Gregorian chant later, distinguished between a solemn and an ordinary manner of performance, the former being in a higher degree singing than the latter. St. Jerome (4th century) already distinguishes between psalms, hymns and cantica (lofty songs); by hymns, he understands the chants (also from the Psalms), which extol the strength and majesty of God, by cantica those exalted songs of praise, which extol the divine order of the world, while the psalms have in a more limited sense a moralizing tendency *(ad ethicum locum pertinent)*. He expressly counts among the hymns those psalms which begin or end with Hallelujah. Meantime, songs copied from heathen hymns entered without doubt early into the Christian liturgy. Although the earliest Christians abhorred everything heathen, they nevertheless understood also, on the other hand, how to transform and Christianize heathen customs, thus acknowledging the high significance which forms that have become beloved have upon the inner life of man. Just as, at Athens, the apostle Paul transformed the "altar to the unknown God" into an altar to the God of the Christians, so, also, hymns in honour of the Grecian gods, the melodies of which were generally known, may, by association with a Christian text, have been made Christian. Philo Judæus, a contemporary of Christ Himself, relates of the Therapeutæ, a Jewish sect, that at their Divine service, some one rises and begins

singing a hymn about God, it may be one of his own composition, or one of those in three-part metre composed by the old poets, and that in the subsequent verses others relieve him, till finally, at the closing verse everyone present joins in. St. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea (4th century) also relates that the same custom prevailed in the Christian worship of his time. From the very first times of Christianity spring the New Testament songs: — *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus dominus deus sabaoth*, also known in the Byzantine church as *Trishagion* (Thrice holy), and perhaps received from it, and the *Gloria in excelsis deo*, in respect to which Sixtus I (119—127) already, ordered that it should be sung not only on Christmas day but on Christmas eve. Also, the three so-called *cantica majora*: the *canticum Mariæ* (at the Annunciation), *Magnificat anima mea*, the *canticum Zachariæ*, *Benedictus dominus deus Israel* and the *canticum Simeonis*, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum* were no doubt composed in the first centuries, after the pattern of the Old Testament, and taken into the Divine service. That the singing in the *cantica* and Hallelujah was quick and animated is attested by St. Augustine (4th century) when he relates that the singers of the *cantica* shouted with joy (*exultare lætitia*) and unable to give verbal expression to their excessive gladness, ceased following the text and burst into speechless jubilation (*eunt in sonum jubilationis*). Corresponding to this, the Monk of Angoulême, in his description of the life of Charlemagne, relates, that Frank singers learned the Roman (neumes) notation of the church songs, but were unable to sing the *colorature (tremolas vel vinnolas)* and Johannis Presbyteros states that the Germans had howled the loveliest songs like wolves. In view of such a condition of affairs relative to the old church songs, it is not surprising that the necessity of entrusting the singing to schooled singers soon became obvious. The apostolic constitutions (of the 2nd century) already speak of particular singers appointed by the church. Certain it is that Pope Hilarius (5th century) instituted a school for singers at Rome.

145. What are the facts concerning the Ambrosian chant?

St. Ambrose (374—397) shares the fate of many eminent personages in musical history, viz., that of having posterity connect with their names service after service

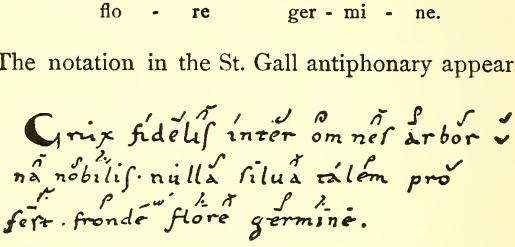
and invention after invention, which the historical critic has to deny them. Ancient witnesses (Aurel de Réomé, in the 9th century) testify that Ambrose introduced the antiphons of the Byzantine church into the Roman; it is more than probable that at the same time he received thence the teaching of the church modes (protus, deuterus, tritus, tetartus, cf. 121). On the other hand, there is nothing to prove that he introduced the letter notation with A—G (even in the newer sense in which Otto of Clugny first uses it, cf. 123). It is certainly not impossible that the old organ notation, which corresponds in the disposition of the seven first letters of the alphabet with that at first used in Byzantium (A = a = our c), is to be traced to him; but in any case only in what concerns the theoretical explanation of the relationship of the notes, not as a real notation. A higher significance seems to be attributable to Ambrose as a composer, since a number of Latin hymns are ascribed to him, amongst which the following are still sung:

1. Aeterne rerum conditor.
2. Deus creator omnium.
3. Veni redemtor gentium.
4. Splendor paternæ gloriæ.
5. O lux beata trinitas.

To St. Hilary of Poitiers also (4th century), a Latin hymn *(Hymnus Matutinus)* is ascribed.. Other very old poetical or musical writers of hymns were, Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (350—405: *Lux ecce surgit aurea; Ales dici nuntius: Corde natus ex parentis*; *Salvete flores martyrum; Jam modesta quiesce querela*). Of the nature of these hymns, one of the oldest extant, the *Crux fidelis inter omnes*, which is the only one in the antiphonary of St. Gall with a notation added, may give an idea (the present reading is according to Maslon).

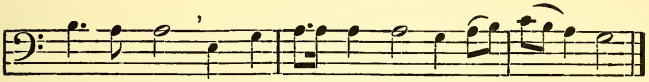
(First Church Mode)

The notation in the St. Gall antiphonary appears thus:



As is readily perceptible, the places of several of the neumes of two or three notes have been filled in the present notation by single notes; in other respects the translation seems to be true.

Whether the so-called Ambrosian song of praise, the '*Te deum laudamus*' is to be ascribed to Ambrose, or was taken from the Greek church and merely translated by him, or whether indeed, as others think, it only appeared a hundred years after Ambrose, is not sufficiently determined. The transmitted melody begins:



The relationship of the melodic formation of the *Te deum* to that of the above given hymn, notwithstanding the much greater freedom of rhythm (as the syllables in the *Te deum* are not metrical) is striking. And the solemn melody of the Gloria also, shows the same character. It begins thus:

These words were sung by the Priest; whereupon the chorus proceeded with, *et in terra pax*, etc.

All these chants had only one note to a syllable, or at most neumes of from 2 to 3 notes; true jubilation, the pure melodious outpouring of speechless exultation of which St. Augustine speaks, we find most of in the Hallelujah hymn, and at points of rest (sections, *distinctiones*) in the antiphons and graduals. Unhappily, there is no basis for their translation into modern notation. We shall become more exactly acquainted with them, when we come to consider *sequences*. The examples quoted will suffice to give a conception of the tonal nature and approximate rhythm (always — even in the jubilations — dependent upon the meaning of the words, and formation of the text) of the oldest church songs.

146. What distinguished the Gregorian from the Ambrosian chant?

The distinction between Gregorian and Ambrosian chant did not appear till the latter part of the Middle Ages; i. e., at a time when the contrast between the *musica*

plana (plain song) and *mensurata* (mensurable song) had developed, and the original lively rhythm of the church songs had become stiffened down to a succession of notes of equal length, with which shorter notes were only occasionally intermixed. With a manner of performance such as was then employed, the accounts of the jubilant singing of the old time would not agree. And now a distinction was made between the newer manner, which of course rested for support on the chant books compiled by order of Pope Gregory the Great (590—604), and made the canon for the whole church, and the old one. But this distinction does not stand the test of historical criticism. Every kind of melody presented by the Gregorian chant was already in the Ambrosian, and the manner of performance was the same. Even Guido d'Arezzo (about 1026) knows no distinction between the two. Nevertheless, it may well be, that Gregory separated a part of the particularly favourite hymns of Ambrose, and transferred the chief importance to the antiphons and graduals, but just in regard to the introduction and multiplication of these, personal merits are likewise ascribed to Ambrose. Probably, therefore, Gregory did not introduce a new kind of church song, but only collected and edited the chants composed in other countries, and thus uniformly regulated the singing of the entire Roman church. To Gregory also has erroneously been ascribed the introduction of the Latin letter notation. As later research proves, the antiphonaries, etc. noted down by order of Gregory, were written in the neume-notation. And the merit of having associated the four plagal modes with the authentic does not belong to Gregory; but they were evidently brought from Byzantium. For the further development of the singing school, existing before his time at Rome, whence, repeatedly, well-schooled singers were sent to France, Germany, etc. for extending the right manner of singing, and correcting the wrong, credit is doubtless due to Gregory personally; indeed, the couch, reclining upon which Gregory is said to have himself instructed the students, was still seen by Johannes Diakonus (9th century). To Gregory himself, some hymns are also ascribed (*Audi benigne conditor*, *Rex Christe factor omnium*, etc.). The peculiarity of the Gregorian chant, or of the chant of the Western Christian churches revised by Gregory, and even of the Ambrosian, without doubt is, that

(with the exception of a few, of the older correctly scanned hymns) they are not composed of measured verses, that no poetical metres form their basis, but they are actual prose (but although such, full of poetic aspiration and sublime thoughts), or else they consist of that Latin form of verse peculiar to the middle ages, which is not scanned in the antique manner, but, according to the modern method, distinguished by accented and unaccented syllables. But hymns also, which, like the *Crux fidelis*, are correctly scanned, appear not to have the metre impressed upon the melody in the antique manner (for instance, the iambus by), but are distinguished chiefly from those composed to prose by the fact that they never have, like these, an accumulation of syllables, but always proceed by equal steps (cf. the *Crux fidelis* and *Te deum*, above). To antique Greek music, that kind of vocal composition not bound by a strict, but only by a free rhetorical rhythm, was entirely foreign; but it is very possible that Hebrew music in the earliest times was already arranged in such a half recitative style that here a number of syllables were hurried rapidly over, and there single ones lingered upon longer, and sung with melodious ornamentation, regard being had, naturally, to the significance of the words. Indeed, this kind of musical form must appear finally as the only one suited to a prosaic (unmetrical) text. The same melody appears in the neumes notation of the antiphonary of St. Gall above verses of the Psalms which differ entirely in their number of words and length; hence another distribution of the groups of notes becomes necessary; single notes are often many times repeated, or else, occasionally unessential grace notes are left out. Perhaps in the time of Ambrose, single hymns copied from the Greek ones were still sung as scanned, and Gregory instituted a uniform method of singing in the church by restricting it to melody which followed the rhetorical accent. Whether the arrangement of the values of the notes was really as strict as we have made it in the *Te deum* above, may be left undetermined; but it seemed to us that it would be revealing more plainly the nature of that manner of composition, if, by introducing the bar-line, altogether foreign to the Gregorian choral, we brought into prominence the rhetorical accents and their presentation through the

recurrence of the same turns in the melody. Let the performance of the same be imagined as the freest possible, with a lively *stringendo* and *crescendo* on the accented notes or a slight *diminuendo* and *ritenuto* on the same, and a noticeable caesura between the divisions of the phrase.

147. What was the origin of the Sequences?

The hardest, almost unsolvable chapter in the Gregorian chant as well as in its notation (neumes) consists of the jubilations, both in the single sections *(distinctiones)* of the graduals, *tractus* songs, etc. and especially in the Hallelujah song, which was sung to a great number of different melodies, as is unmistakably shown by the antiphonary of St. Gall. Whilst it might nevertheless still be easy, after frequently hearing them, to retain by heart the melodies to a longer text, especially if advantage were taken of the mnemotechnical aid offered by the approximate representation of the melodic movement by the neumes, yet, on the other hand, it is only too readily explicable, that the Hallelujah hymn became so corrupted in the course of centuries, that even with the help of the neumes there was no longer any possibility of making it out. For as no other text beyond the four syllables Hal-le-lu-jah offered a support for the rhythmic arrangement of the tolerably ornate melodies, and by far the larger part of the neumes was apportioned to the final syllable, there remained of the old highly-prized *jubilationes* not much more in the 9th century than a long series of notes (already, in any case, no longer to be fully relied on), without clear rhythmic division, the learning of which became constantly more difficult as the historical fixed process of gradual slackening in the time of the performance of the melodies, advanced. It was therefore very natural, that, by associating with them a more richly-worded text, means were sought and found by which to render the transmitted melodies more easy to be remembered. The beginning is said to have been made by a monk of the cloister of Gimedia, who, after the destruction of that place by the Normans, went to St. Gall. St. Gall stood at the head of the singing schools instituted in the time of Charlemagne for the purpose of regulating the church song: — Metz, Soissons, Orleans, Sens, Lyons, Toul, Cambrai, Dijon and Paris. Its origin was really quite accidental,

as a singing master (of the name of Romanus), one of the two sent out in 790 at the wish of Charlemagne, by Pope Hadrian I., with copies of the Gregorian antiphonary, fell ill on his journey at St. Gall and remained there. The singing-school at St. Gall attained a particularly high degree of perfection, and a succession of eminent promoters of church song found there the theatre of their activity. Of these, the first is Notker Balbulus (840—912), who occupies a significant place in musical history, as the composer of the first of the extant sequences. At the beginning, he followed the practice of the monk of Gimedia, i. e., under the transmitted melodies of the Hallelujah, he placed Latin texts (at first in prose) in such a way that one syllable fell on every note or on every neume. The first sequence arranged by him is, *Laudes deo concinat orbis.* But it soon became clear that a satisfactory rhythmic division could no longer be introduced into what remained of the old melodies without adding to them. Thus Notker proceeded with a freer mode of treatment, and used only the beginnings of the old melodies as motives for the development of more elaborate chants, which thereupon received the name given in the first place to those now incomprehensible appendices *(sequentia)* of the graduals, with their final Hallelujah. Owing to their simple prosaic text, these chants were called *prosæ*, and they retained this name also, when they received an artistically prepared text in popular poetry, with a regular arrangement of syllables and rhymes. Of about 40 of Notker's extant sequences, the most celebrated is, *Media vita in morte sumus*, from which with slight changes, the Protestant chorale *Mitten wir im Leben sind*, developed. Tuotilo, also, a contemporary of Notker at St. Gall, wrote sequences; further, Eckhard I., who lived not very much later, composed new texts to Notker's sequence melodies. The most celebrated sequences still sung are: the Easter sequence, *Victimæ paschali laudes*, ascribed to Notker (?); the Pentecostal Sequence, *Veni sancte spiritus*, composed, according to some, by Hermannus Contractus, according to others, by king Robert II. of France (about 1000); the Sacramental sequence, *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*, composed by Thomas Aquinas; the *Stabat Mater*, composed by Jacoponus (before 1300), and the *Dies iræ*, which was also written in the 13th century. As these last sequences had a text in rhymes, with a regular

arrangement of syllables, they are scarcely to be distinguished from the old hymns, especially as, like those, they occasionally have a neume of two, or even three, notes to one syllable.

TENTH CHAPTER.

ORGANUM, DISCANTUS AND FAUX-BOURDON.

148. When did the first beginnings of polyphonic music appear?

As it appears, in the 8th and 9th centuries. For the attempts of some later historians to prove that polyphonic music was already known to the ancient Greeks, are to be regarded as unsuccessful. From the passages quoted from Westphal, said to prove the use of other intervals than the octave in combination, it can only be inferred that certain notes could be used as passing or auxiliary notes, while either the accompanying cithara gave only the essential notes, and the vocal part took intermediate notes, or conversely, the vocal part held a note, and the accompaniment struck a paraphonic interval (fifth, fourth) after the unison or octave. Nevertheless, in the first centuries of our chronology, the consonances of the fifth and fourth appear to have gradually come to be understood in such a way that they began to be accounted good as harmonies. But the most rudimentary kind of polyphony, and certainly the first that arose, was the holding of a low note, above which a melody was played. Of course, for this rôle only one note was suited, viz., that which, like our tonic or dominant, formed the middle, or final, point of the scale; i. e., just as we still recognize similar holding-notes as pedal-points. The historical support for the assumption of this kind of polyphony we have in the early appearance of instruments with so-called *bourdons* or drones; the bag-pipes and hurdy-gurdy had these unalterable basses, and to the oldest bowed instruments (chrotta, viella) they were also peculiar. It appears that the habituation to this kind of instrumental two-part music led to two-part vocal music; but for want of all documents and monuments, it must remain an open question

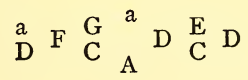
how far instrumentally accompanied song in those times may have helped the transition. The destruction of antique culture and the rise of new national combinations were favourable to the origination of new views, as well as new directions in art; but nothing is more natural than that authentic accounts of such times should just be wanting. Not until the kingdom of the Franks became consolidated do we find satisfactory agreement among the traditions. The first notice of polyphonic singing under the name of *organum*, is by the monk of Angoulême (beginning of the 9th century) in his biography of Charlemagne, where he relates that the Frankish singers had learned in Rome the art of "organizing" *(artem organandi)*; and Scotus Erigena, a little later (middle of the 9th century) already describes the *organum* as something generally known, and indeed describes a species of organum which has been regarded as having originated only in later times; in this species the parts were at times wide apart and then again met in consonant intervals as the key required. For a long time the organum was regarded as the invention of the monk Hucbald of St. Amand in Flanders (died 930 or 932), and for the reason that to him is traditionally ascribed the manuscript *Musica Enchiriadis*, in which a detailed account of the organum is contained. Later researches (by W. Brambach, H. Müller) have shown that Hucbald's authorship of that manuscript must be doubted, and its origin placed, not in the beginning of the 10th, but rather in that of the 11th century. The *Musica Enchiriadis* speaks, moreover, of this kind of polyphonic singing as being well known, and "traditionally called organum". Be the case as it may, it is certainly clear from everything written, as well as from a treatise on the organum to be found in Cologne, written in the 10th century, that the organum dates considerably further back than the year 1000.

The nature of this oldest form of regular polyphony consisted in this, that a melody taken from the Gregorian choral was accompanied a fourth lower by a second voice. As may however already be seen from the description of Scotus Erigena and from the Cologne treatise, the parts combined in unison in all cadences and sections (the *distinctiones* of the old terminology). The "organizing" voice also, might not descend further than a second below

the final of the first church mode, i. e., to tenor c. This strange rule gives us the key to the origin of the organum as well as to that of its name. The numerous directions for the construction of organ pipes, which have been preserved from the 10th century, have all of them this in common, that the pipe placed lowest corresponds with our tenor c. *The "organizing" part was obviously not sung originally, but played on the organ.* The older directions for the organum all agree in directing that it should be played discreetly *(modesta morositate)*; this direction strips the parallel singing in fourths and fifths of all its horror for modern ears, the mind being evidently directed not to the voices independently but to the harmonious effect of each single combination, which cannot be denied. Such parallel singing must be regarded rather as the only natural bridge from the unisono and octave singing of Antiquity to true polyphony.

The Musica Enchiriadis ascribed to Hucbald, shows us the organum in so far further developed that it doubles the two parts an octave higher; thereby, the avoidance of notes lying lower than tenor c seems no longer absolutely obligatory, but appears as a particular kind of organum, i. e., the organum was now always sung and the former restriction seemed unnecessary, but probably pleasure had been taken in the effect of the previous form, so that it was preserved as a particular species and used in higher positions (fiddle g as lowest bass note remaining stationary). Guido still says in the *Micrologus* (by him the organum is also called *diaphonia*), "Often, if lower notes than the third final note (tenor f) appear in the *cantus firmus*, the organum remains on the third note (organal note = c); but then the *cantus firmus* may not remain on any of the lower notes, but must pass quickly over them in order to combine again with the third note which is waiting for it." Guido, moreover, distinguishes between an organum *sub voce* (a fourth lower) and one *supra vocem* (a fifth above); the doublings an octave higher are no longer mentioned later. John Cotton (about 1100) shows the organum to have made a substantial advance, leading directly up to the discantus, when he says, "We must aim at independence in the movement of the parts *(motuum varietas)*, in such a manner that where the *cantus firmus* ascends *(recta modulatio)* the organum may descend,

and conversely. If the *cantus firmus* make a cæsura (pause, rest = *mora*) on a low note, the organum above it must rise to the upper octave; if the *cantus firmus* end on a high note, the organum, which is then below, must fall to the lower octave. If the *cantus firmus* ends in a middle position, the organum must proceed to the unison. In general, we should look for alternation between cadences in the unison and those in the octave, but prefer the former.', A treatise (MS. 17) in the Ambrosian library at Milan, viz'. the "Ad organum faciendum", belonging to the same time (about 1100), marks more clearly still the transition to the Discantus, inasmuch as within the sections it still allows of fifths and fourths at pleasure, but, nevertheless, places contrary motion more and more in the foreground. One of the examples is:

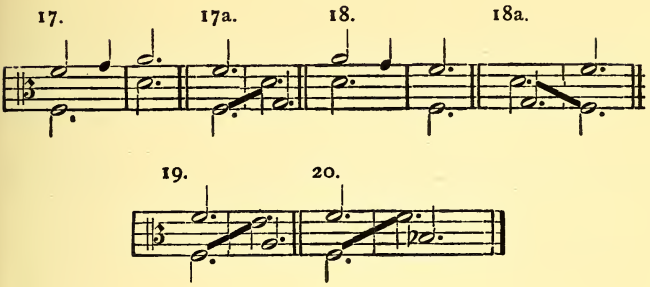


That is already a true discantus containing even a third, which the oldest discantus never admitted.

149. In what does the difference between the discantus properly so-called (déchant) and the older organum consist?

In the strict carrying out of the principle of contrary motion, as radically established in the 12th century. One of the oldest directions for the *déchant*, which appeared first in France, is written in French. Its twelve rules may be given in short: "The discanting part takes with the notes of the cantus firmus the fifth and octave alternately. The close is always made in the octave." That is, to be sure, a poor combination of two parts, but a solid foundation on which to build further and which soon was further built on. For, from the *note-against-note* discantus, figured discantus quickly developed. It is to be observed, that the rules were only there for the singers; for it was not a question of composing at all at first; both the organum (diaphony) and the discantus as well as the faux-bourdon, to be mentioned presently, were only ways of singing the Gregorian chorale in several parts instead of in unison. The singer improvised his counter-part according to the rules familiar to him, as he meanwhile read the original notation (the cantus firmus). So then, the *Discantus vul-*

garis (!) *positio* perhaps composed by Robert of Sabilon, and likewise belonging to the 12th century, already looks quite different. It adheres throughout to the rule that to the notes of the *cantus firmus* octaves and fifths are to be added alternately, but it always introduces between each a note which we should now have to explain sometimes as a note of a broken chord, sometimes as a passing note, sometimes also as a note left as a free changing note. Every note in the cantus firmus has the value of a longa of three beats (here we have the real *cantus planus!*) and the discantus adds to each a longa of two beats, followed by a brevis. The examples, without the rules to which they are annexed, might alone be of sufficient use to us; they are the following (the longa is represented by 𝅗𝅥, the brevis by 𝅜): —



These rules were long held in high esteem. An example may illustrate their practical value (*"Viderunt omnes fines"*):

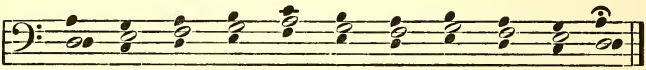
That does not sound at all bad. Before we can pass to the explanation of the different forms of composition which developed with these rules as a basis, we have yet to mention the third strictly schematic polyphonic manner in which the Gregorian chant was sung, viz., the faux-bourdon.

150. When and where did the faux-bourdon arise?

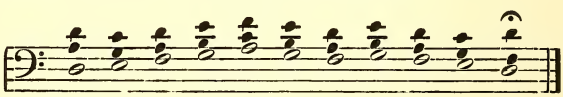
The time when the faux-bourdon first appeared is not known; however, Guilelmus Monachus, an author of the 14th century, who first describes it in detail, relates that it was in general use amongst the English. It will be ventured to assume that it is much older. From the *discantus* and *organum* it is distinguished in two ways: 1) that against every note of the *cantus firmus* it places two others simultaneously, 2) that the intervals preferred are not fourths, fifths and octaves, but thirds and sixths. The latter circumstance especially, is highly significant, and really gives to polyphony an entirely new element, that parallel motion which is also agreeable to a refined artistic taste. A two-part form, called *Gymel*, likewise described by Guilelmus Monachus, is evidently the original form from which the three-part faux-bourdon developed. The *gymel* always accom-

panies the *cantus firmus* in thirds, and indeed, sometimes in thirds above, sometimes in thirds below, and even at times in single sixths; the beginning and end (points of rest in general) are always in the unison or octave:

The three-part faux-bourdon apparently combined in the notation the continuous accompaniment of upper and lower thirds; i. e. it looks to the eye like a continuous succession of triads; but the beginning and close are made in the upper part in the fifth, and in the lower part in the unison:



but the voice written lowest was sung an octave higher (as soprano [*supranus*]; the voice which was written highest was therefore the alto voice, and was called *contratenor*, and the *cantus firmus* itself *tenor*). The real sound was therefore a series of chords of the sixth:



A notation was, of course, as little needed for the *gymel* and faux-bourdon as for the *organum* of fourths, or the *déchant* in its original form of alternate fifths and octaves. The singers could at all times extemporize both kinds of polyphony at sight, as, of the *déchant* at least, it is expressly declared (*déchant sur le livre, contrappunto alla mente*).

But even in the 12th century, beside this slavish clinging to the *cantus firmus*, there already developed a free polyphonic style of composition also; i. e., really new forms appeared, to which we must now turn.

151. What forms of free composition developed in the first times of polyphonic writing?

A brief historical summary in a treatise on musical

theory, which was written at the beginning of the 13th century (printed in Coussemaker's collection *Scriptores I*, as *Anonymus IV.*), has preserved the names of a few composers of the 12th and 13th centuries. It says there, "Observe, that Magister Leoninus had the reputation of an excellent composer (organista), and to give variety to the Divine service, he wrote a large work in the style of the organum, based upon the graduals and antiphonaries; this work was in use up to the time of the great Perotinus, who made an extract from the same, and himself added to it many new and better compositions, as he thoroughly understood discantus, even better than Leoninus. Magister Perotinus himself wrote distinguished four-part and three-part compositions (above the *cantus planus*) and also triple, double and simple *conducti*. The book or books of *magister* Perotinus were in use in the choir of the church of *Notre Dame* in Paris up to the time of Robert of Sabilon, and from his time in the same manner up to more recent times when men arose such as *Petrus*, a distinguished composer *(notator)* and Johannes the Great *(Primarius)*, but, in the main, up to the time of the *magister Franco the Elder* and the other *magister Franco of Cologne*, who partially introduced a different notation into their works, and consequently laid down other rules, which specially concerned their works."

Of Leoninus we know only the name; of Perotinus some polyphonic compositions have been discovered and published by Coussemaker. Of the two Francos (Franco of Cologne, about 1190 Prior of the Benedictine Abbey at Cologne, and Franco of Paris a little earlier), theoretical works are preserved, the same of Petrus (de Cruce) and Johannes (de Garlandia). The theoretical treatises of this time agree pretty well in distinguishing the following forms of composition: *organum*, *rondellus*, *conductus*, *copula*, *motetus*, and *hoquetus*. The name *organum* now denotes those compositions in which a melody of the cantus planus in long notes *without fixed value*, forms the foundation; the tenor which performs this, sometimes sustains its note till the next follows, but sometimes rests also, waiting for a consonance before joining in again; e. g.:

This so-called pure organum *(organum purum)* comes nearest to the old strict forms, but admits, as we see, of a free movement of the melody of the discantus. Franco of Cologne gives us the information concerning this species of organum, that *one of the parts has a text, but the other has not;* i. e., therefore, the single long notes are taken certainly from the Gregorian chant, but without the text belonging to them, which naturally could not be made use of. And whether the notes of this cantus firmus were not intended to be given by the organ, instead of being sung, is not quite sure. Considerably more artistic in form is the *motetus.* This had a motive from the Gregorian chorale for its tenor, but one definitely measured according to one of the six modi (cf. 129), mostly in the fifth (i. e. proceeding only in longæ). The alto (*medius cantus*, itself also called *motetus*) is written in a *modus* suited to it, but mostly in one which has long and short notes alternately (trochaic, iambic, dactylic, anapæstic); the discant finally *(tertius cantus, tripla)*, moved as a rule in the sixth *modus*, i. e. only in short notes. The name of *motetus* is explained by Walter Odington (1228) as "*brevis motus cantilenæ*". The *motetus* is therefore always in three parts. The *copula*, also founded on a *cantus firmus*, is a discantus of quick movement (double as quick as the usual value of the notes), proceeding in two-tone ligatures of iambic measurement (and). The *hoquetus* (ochetus) consists in alternate rests for the voices at very short distances, so that the whole song appears disjointed *(truncatus).* When it is in three parts one voice always rests while two sing. The *conductus* is principally distinguished from the *motetus* by its having no cantus firmus as its basis, but rather both parts or all three (or even four) are

written originally by the composers. The general instructions for three-part composition are sufficiently naïve; all that is required is that *two of the three parts should always form a consonance;* the interval formed by the third note is then unimportant. Practice of course knew how to make up the deficiency. The beginning of a *conductus* given by Franco of Cologne runs thus: —

that is, in modern notation:

which, truly, is very stiff though not altogether unrhythmical.

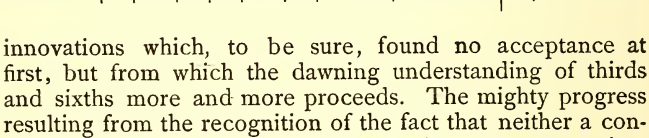
ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

THE FLOURISHING PERIOD OF COUNTERPOINT.

152. How is true counterpoint distinguished from the older forms of polyphonic composition, viz., the organum, discantus and faux-bourdon?

The name of counterpoint appears in the 14th century as the general name for the co-existing kinds of polyphonic composition, and is explained as "*nota contra notam*" (note against note, *punctus contra punctum*). As

the organum of fourths and fifths needed writing out as little as the strict discantus of octaves and fifths or the faux-bourdon of unchanging thirds and sixths, *punctus contra punctum* naturally became the name of the freely treated composition which needed writing down, and which arose from the combination of the reciprocally exclusive musical forms of parallel and contrary motion. The recognition of thirds and sixths as (imperfect, "*per accidens*" perfect) consonances is first found in the West (cf. 114) about 1190 in Franco of Cologne (in the *Compendium discantus*). Marchettus of Padua (about 1274—1309) in his *Lucidarium* even reckons thirds and sixths again with the dissonances (following Boetius), but he distinguishes them, as being agreeable to the ear, from seconds and sevenths, with which this is not the case. Marchettus already introduces chromatic progressions, sharps and flats in general, to produce a reasonable continuation of thirds and sixths:



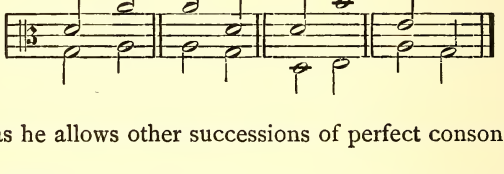
innovations which, to be sure, found no acceptance at first, but from which the dawning understanding of thirds and sixths more and more proceeds. The mighty progress resulting from the recognition of the fact that neither a continuous similar motion nor an exclusive contrary motion, but rather a blending of both principles was admissible and justifiable (i. e. a freer choice of the notes of the accompanying parts, according to higher laws at first indefinable, suggested to the composer by his natural musical feeling) gradually developed in the composition of pieces in more than two parts *(triplum [motetus], quadruplum).* For it was naturally impossible that the same principles, which, in writing a discantus to a cantus firmus, invariably led to the same result, could be applied in order to obtain a third voice distinct from this. In other words, whoever wrote a three-part *motetus, conductus* or *rondellus,* already employed true counterpoint, the origin of which, therefore, must unconditionally date from the time of Franco of Cologne. In fact this writer gives the following direction: "He who wishes to write a third part *(triplum)* should

take care that this produce a consonance either with the tenor or discant, and that it rise or fall in consonance either with the one or with the other (never with both). And he must proceed similarly if he wish to add a fourth or fifth voice." It is difficult for us now to understand how in such counterpoint (without any preconceived harmony, without any impression of the combination of the parts so that they might be regarded from the same standpoint) the result could have been even a tolerable one; Franco, to be sure, gives us the premonitory advice to introduce only consonances at the beginning of every bar *(in principio perfectionis)*, and dissonances therefore only on unaccented beats (passing notes). In the last bar but one (penultima), according to Franco and others, we often find a pedal-point *(organicus punctum)* so that the tenor sustains its note until the other voices are also so far in their parts that, at a sign from the conductor, all can intone the final note together (the closing chord always containing the fifth and unison or octave, never the third). In the main, Franco's instructions continue as the alpha and omega of polyphonic composition until the knowledge of the nature of harmony bursts forth, i. e. until the 16th century.

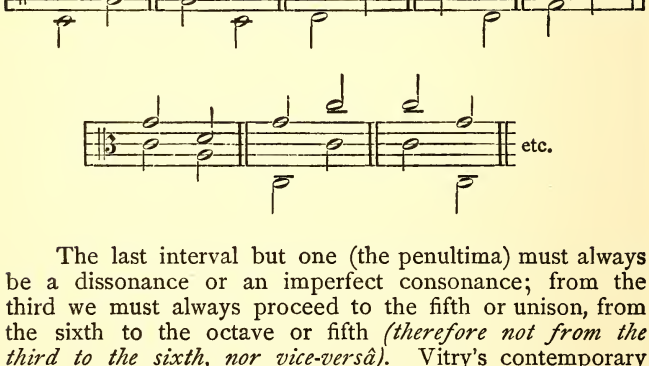
153. Did not the time immediately following bring into force more definite rules and prohibitions in regard to the movement of the parts, especially the prohibition of consecutive octaves and fifths?

Certainly: and Jean de Muris was indeed for a long time unjustly regarded as the author of this still fully valid prohibition. Muris was a stanch conservative master who rejected the radical innovations of his contemporaries and sought to preserve faithfully the traditions of the epoch of Franco. As the actual representative of the great progress of the 14th century, Philip de Vitry (Philippus de Vitriaco) must rather be recognized, even though he perhaps did not introduce all these epoch-making innovations, but only first arranged them systematically, and by acute logic definitely established them in his works. Philip de Vitry says, in his *Ars contrapunctus*, that "two unisons, fifths, octaves or other perfect consonances of different pitch should never immediately follow each other; but those of the same pitch may do so. Of imperfect consonances (thirds and sixths) three

or even four may follow one another. Dissonant intervals (seconds and sevenths) are not used in note-against-note composition, but only in figuration *(in cantu fractibili)*." But Vitry very strictly forbids the counterpoint to introduce two (even though different) perfect consonances consecutively, when the tenor falls or rises one degree:



whereas he allows other successions of perfect consonances:



The last interval but one (the penultima) must always be a dissonance or an imperfect consonance; from the third we must always proceed to the fifth or unison, from the sixth to the octave or fifth *(therefore not from the third to the sixth, nor vice-versâ)*. Vitry's contemporary Simon Dunstede or Tunstede, an English composer and theorist, who died in 1369, formulates the theory of music quite similarly, probably following de Vitry, or like him guided by the same rules laid down in the meantime. He allows the otherwise forbidden parallels when they are separated by a rest. The descriptions of musical forms in the 14th century still agree at first with those of the 12th and 13th centuries. Yet Jean de Muris (14th century) bitterly complains that the more recent composers unduly

neglect the hoquetus, copula, conductus, rondellus and organum, and apply themselves almost exclusively to the writing of motets and *cantilenas*. Perhaps we may understand by *cantilena* a simply arranged polyphonic composition for two, or more than two voices, in popular style *(chanson, canzona)*; at least, Muris informs us that in the cantilena the voices have *only one form of words*. A new name first used by Muris for an art form is *fuga*. We have no reason for assuming that this name signified anything different then from what it did 100 years later, when it became the universal one for strict imitation or canon. Muris gives a faithful account of the distinctions which began to be made in his time between the different kinds of time (cf. 130) given to the *modus* (longa) and *tempus* (brevis), but he cannot make friends with the innovations; quite indignant, he exclaims "Art, which truly and fundamentally is a practical thing, is thereby rendered artificial and abstract." Important for us is the remark, that *those songs in which the voices have only one kind of time-measure were called regular, and those in which, on the contrary, the voices singing together had different kinds of time-measure, were called irregular.* We already stand, therefore, in the midst of the canonic arts, which the Netherlanders were to raise to such a giddy height. As a proof that the results of contrapuntal combinations could even in early times exhibit beauty, there may follow here the beginning of a Rondel, to be found in a manuscript of the 13th century, in the British Museum. It is already written in the style of the riddle canon as a single voice; thus (longa = 𝅗𝅥):

Su-mer is i - co-men in etc. (English Spring Song.)
Per-spi - ce Christi-co - la etc. (Sacred Text.)

Sing cuc - cu!

This melody is sung in four parts by similar voices (4 tenors) which enter in turn at 4 bars' distance; against this 2 basses sing continnously and in alternation the so-called *Pes:*

Compositions like this betray so strong a feeling for harmony that we can only wonder that theory did not long before discover the secrets of practice, and demand a clear exposition of the harmonies according to our present ideas. This, however, now soon happened, as is shown by some anonymous treatises, which stand isolated certainly, between those which observe Franco's and Vitry's directions as to the management of the parts, one especially, the *Ars discantus secundum Johannem de Muris* (which, however, must not be ascribed to this writer, as it assuredly belongs at latest to the beginning of the 15th century). This work gives, for three-part composition, instructions which constantly require the full chord, i. e., which presuppose the clear consciousness of the significance of the triads; the author, unfortunately unknown, cautions us not to allow both parts of the counterpoint to take the fifth, octave, third or sixth of the tenor, nor to stand an octave apart, as they do not then give two different notes, but the same note. He likewise warns us not to combine the sixth and the fifth, nor the compound of either. "It is most pleasant when one part of the counterpoint takes the fifth and the other the tenth, or else where one takes the sixth and the other the octave, because in these cases the two counterpoints form a sixth or a third without the tenor."

The same theorist also gives more detailed instructions for the writing of two counterpoints, one of the parts (called *carmen* = *cantus*) being above the tenor, the other (called *contratenor*) below it (later, as is known, the alto is constantly called contratenor, and the voice below the tenor, bassus). The counterpoints approved by him are disposed in just the same way, so that where possible, triads result.

If we add to this the figuration with dissonant passing notes already mentioned with emphasis by Vitry, it cannot be denied that composition begins to assume a sureness, freedom of movement and fulness of tone, which render it capable of attaining high aims. And thus we pass out of the time of groping and searching into the time of artistic creation with a definite object. What we still miss, viz., the conscious introduction of the dissonance as a particular means of expression, its preparation by a consonance and its resolution on a new consonance, was first introduced in the flourishing period of polyphonic composition in the Netherlands, but without theory being able to make anything of it.

154. What was the condition of secular music at the time of the development of counterpoint?

The free melodic creation of the natural musical instinct, unfettered by any scholastic rules or slavish enchainment to the inviolable *cantus firmus*, had opportunity now as at all times, for activity. We already saw, in the 12th and 13th centuries, motives from national songs appear as *canti firmi* in polyphonic composition, and we shall see this custom develop more and more. The songs, also, of the Troubadours and *Minnesänger*, and those of their next successors, the burgher singers, which formed the transition to the antiquated guild songs of the *Meistersänger*, were the results of this activity of the natural sense for

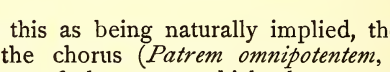
melody. That instrumental music likewise developed further, although principally only as an accompaniment to, or substitute for, song, we are assured by a treatise of the 14th century entitled "Summa magistri Johannis de Muris", which enumerates all kinds of instruments (organs, flutes, trumpets, bag-pipes, cithers, psaltery, organistrum, monochord [piano], viols, etc.) and actually says of them that they have their particular notations (habent signa propria suarum notarum). It is in the highest degree probable that this was still the old organ notation, which at last we find appearing again in the 15th century as German tablature in extant documents (Konrad Paumann's Organ book [Fundamentum organisandi]). It will be imagined that instruments played an important rôle at popular merry-makings; but the old dance songs, the larger part of which consisted of a dance in common time (circular dances) with its appended after-dance, springing dance in triple time (called also *proportio*, because the kind of time was the sesquialtera), were sung, for they always come down to us with words, and the instrumentalists (were these but fiddlers or pipers) played them as well. As particular forms of national songs, besides the dance songs, we know also the peasant songs, hunting songs, love songs, comic songs and children's songs, etc. Deserving of special mention also are, the "*Liederspiele*" *(Jeux)* of the troubadour Adam de la Hâle (1240—1287, called the humpback of Arras), especially the *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, a kind of small operetta. In all this secular music there pulsates a fresh natural musical life, which contrasts most advantageously with the still for the most part tortured polyphonic compositions of the higher art music used almost exclusively by the church. Moreover, composers may have begun even in early times to arrange the national airs in a simple popular manner for several voices. As already mentioned, the *cantilenæ* of the 14th century were probably such simple compositions. The *Locheimer Liederbuch* also, contains some charming two and three-part popular songs written about the year 1400. But towards the end of the 15th century, the composition of the national song in four parts has reached such a height of perfection that the early specimens of music-printing from the first decades of the 16th century, could furnish us with volume upon volume of such "*frischen teutschen Liedlein*", *Reutterliedlein*, *Gassen-*

hawerlin, and French *chansons*, Italien *villanelle*, *villote*, *frottole*, etc., as well as dance songs from every land (pavane, gagliarde, etc.). The fact that it is chiefly church compositions which have been preserved from the middle ages, must not mislead us into assuming a lack of pleasure in song in the people during this space of time. On the one hand those wild flowers may have been regarded, so to speak, as not worth storing up, on the other hand, it is only too natural that the musical theorists, who belonged almost without exception to the clerical state, should before everything perpetuate the results of their own speculations. Another reason must also be added, viz., the despised, outlawed position altogether deprived of rights, of the lower class musicians and travelling players of the early middle ages. The church in the 13th century proscribed musicians entirely "*propter abusum histrionum*", i. e. because the sound of wordly instruments disturbed the devotions of the believers and drew them away to ungodly thoughts. The Saxon and Suabian '*Spiegel*' (ancient laws) count the musicians among idle vagrants. It was not until musicians formed themselves into brotherhoods that they obtained the protection of the law, and gradually rose to a more esteemed position. The oldest brotherhood of this kind was the Viennese one, at St. Nicolai (1288); the musicians obtained in one a *Musikantenvogt*, an *Oberspielgraf*, a king of the itinerant folk, *roi des ménétriers*, *rex histrionum*, marshal or whatever he was called in different countries, a chief to settle disputes and order guild affairs in defined districts. The last remains of such musical guilds continued until towards the end of the 18th century.

155. In what did the so-called art of the Netherlanders consist?

We understand by it that highly developed canonic treatment of the parts, especially of the 15th century, the beginning of which could already be pointed out in the 12th and 13th centuries. Although, by later historical researches, the fallacy of the assumption, that artistic counterpoint was, so to speak, invented in the Netherlands, has been thoroughly proved, in so far that it becomes increasingly evident that in France as well as in England and Germany they worked industriously at the perfecting of composition and the development of the nature of imitation, before the Netherlands had drawn the attention of

the musical world; yet, the fact is nevertheless undisputed that when the style of composition in question was at its highest pitch, no country in the world had even approximately so large a number of celebrated names to show as the country between the Scheldt and the Maas; and, indeed, the posts both of musical director and those of singers in all the larger churches, e. g., in Rome, Vienna, Paris, etc., were filled by artists who came from the Netherlands and had received their artistic education there. To the forms already known to us, must be added the mass, imposing from its length, and composed as a connected work on a uniform plan, a *cantus firmus* being especially maintained through every movement. The Gregorian chorale is retained in it only for the opening words of the separate movements (e. g., the *Gloria in excelsis Deo*), whereas the continuation given to the chorus (*et in terra pax*, etc.) is invented freely by the composer and worked out by him as a great choral piece. The notations of masses, therefore, always present the intonation of the officiating priest at the beginning of every movement, in choral notes; thus:



Credo in unum deum.

or omitting this as being naturally implied, they begin at once with the chorus (*Patrem omnipotentem*, etc.). The fixed portions of the mass, which always come between the separate parts of the Divine service (Introit, Collects, Prayers, Epistle, Gospel, Offertory, Praefatio, Paternoster, Communion) are: the *Kyrie*, *Gloria* (Doxology), *Credo* (*Symbolum*, Confession of Faith), *Sanctus* with *Benedictus* and *Agnus Dei*. The oldest complete masses extant present the peculiarity of a fixed cantus firmus, not however the one prescribed for the purpose in the Gregorian chorale, but one freely chosen, whether a chorale motive or a secular air. This need not be understood as meaning exactly that composers intentionally and willingly laid a particular obligation upon themselves; but rather they were in want of a foundation of that kind in order to work upon it the free web of the other parts. Fancy, which,

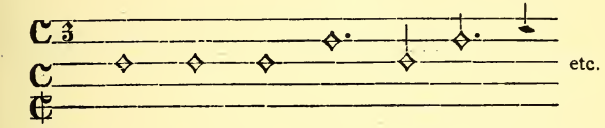
before the clear recognition of the nature of harmony, always rambled more or less indefinitely, was urged on by a cantus firmus in a definite direction. The historical origin of the polyphonic treatment of the choruses in the mass must be conceived thus, that the déchant, the improvised counterpoint *(déchant sur le livre, contrappunto alla mente)* gradually obtained a place in these choruses until the intolerably bad effect of the simultaneous improvisations of several discantus singers compelled the previous working out of polyphonic pieces. Besides, the singer and composer remained for a long time one and the same person, that is to say, singers prepared themselves in writing for their performances and thus composition naturally became the prerogative of singers, who were by their vocation obliged to make themselves acquainted with the complicated rules of the mensural notation. It is well known that the difficulties of learning were so great that boys changed their voices before they could overcome these difficulties, and consequently the choirs always consisted of men, — for the alto and soprano were sung by falsettos *(tenorini)* and later, in the 16th century, by *castrati.* The four-part mass appears in literature (somewhere about 1450) mostly with a national air (drawn out in long notes) in the tenor as a cantus firmus, and imitation as well in the other parts, and the oldest masters are indeed the Scotchman John Dunstable or Dunstaple (died 1458 in London), the father, according to the testimony of Johannes Tinctoris (1475) of the new method of writing, and his Netherland contemporaries Gilles Binchois (1452—1460, at the court of Philip the Good of Burgundy) and Guillaume Dufay (1428, youngest singer at the papal chapel in Rome, died November 27, 1474 as a canon at Cambray). With these new masters, who are expressly termed the teachers of Johann Okeghem, Antoine Busnois, Vincent Faugues and Firmin Caron, composition enters a period of high perfection. Beside the composition of masses, in quite analogous style the composition of motets developed with artistic imitations and several parts above a cantus firmus; the number of voices, as in the mass, is almost exclusively four. The likewise artistically written *chansons* are frequently for two or three voices, while the already mentioned compositions of national airs are also for four voices. In the works of these earliest masters the imitations still

appear tolerably unconstrained and but little obtrusive, so that the cantus firmus seems, as Ambros says, like "the wooden hoop destined to hold the wreath of flowers entwined around it without being visible itself." In the works of Okeghem we notice more or less the application of the old rules for composition in more than two parts, i. e., we still recognize the added character of the third and fourth voices, the successive composition of the separate voices is still perceptible. The progress of the arts of imitation made this procedure impossible, and rendered it necessary to invent the voices together. Preference was more and more given to the form of imitation which we now call strictly canonical, in which what the voice that enters first performs, at once becomes a model for the movement of the following voices. The assigning of different values to the same notes by means of the mensural signatures, rendered it possible to make the dependence of one voice upon the other also evident, even when they moved by the same steps in notes of double or half the value; indeed the movability of the clefs (cf. 131) allowed the same place upon the staff to be given to the notes even though they imitated the melody a fifth higher or lower, or at any other interval desired. From the recognition of these possibilities, it was but a step to write down a composition in several parts in the form of a single part, and indicate by adjoined instructions (the so-called *canon*), the manner in which from one voice the others are to be developed. So it happened that notations in this strict form of imitation, which was properly called *fuga* or *consequenza*, took the name of the canon itself when the key to the solution was left out (*canon ænigmaticus*, enigmatical canon). It is incredible to what a pitch of over-refinement the canonical style of writing rose. The distances between the entries of the voices were continually being shortened till they reached the *fuga ad minimam* (at the distance of a minim); indeed the parts began together, but in different time and with different clefs, or one part performed the notation backwards (*Krebscanon*, *canon cancricans*, *Spiegelcanon*) or even turned the leaf upside down. A special virtuosity developed itself in inventing sentences in which one or another manner of performance was indicated ambiguously, thus: *canit more Hebræorum*, that read in the Jewish manner,

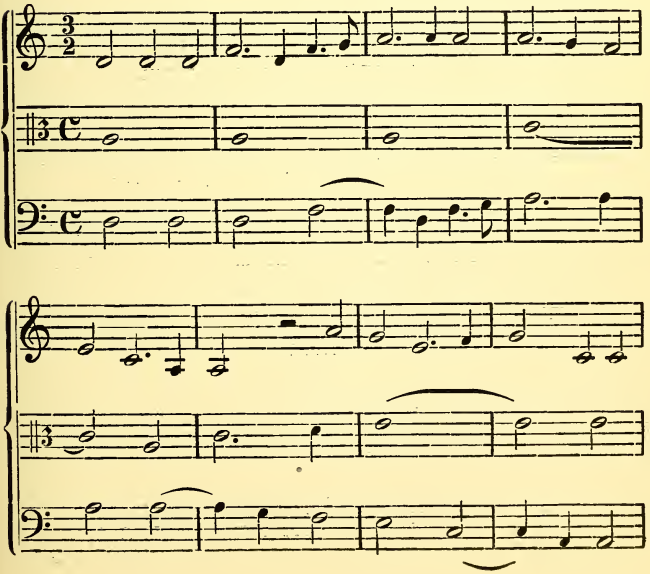
therefore backwards; moreover, the same thing was done by the addition of a verse, which read the same forwards and backwards, as, *Signa te, signa, temere me tangis et angis*, and others. Singing the music inverted (rising where the original fell, and vice-versa) was indicated by *Qui se exaltat humibiliatur*. The summit of the combinations was reached in directions such as, *Clama ne cesses* (cry without ceasing, i. e., jump over all the rests), *Noctem in diem vertere* (i. e. read all black notes as white and all white notes as black; i. e., therefore, notes in perfect time as imperfect, etc.) These arts already developed in 1500, i. e., at the time when the pupils of Binchois and Dufay were at the height of their fame, the most eminent of whom were, *Johann Ockenheim* or *Okeghem* (in 1461 first chorister at the court of Charles VII. of France, died 1520), the famous teacher of Josquin, de la Rue and others, further *Jacob Obrecht (Hobrecht)*, one of the most distinguished masters (born 1430 at Utrecht, 1492 director of music at Antwerp, died 1506), Antoine Busnois, Firmin Caron, Vincent Faugues, Johann Regis, Jacques Barbireau (died 1491) and the two great theorists, *Johannes Tinctoris* (1475 at the court of Ferdinand of Aragon at Naples, died 1511) and *Franchino Gafori* (born 1451 at Lodi, died 1522 at Milan), among German masters, especially *Alexander Agricola* (before 1474 ducal music director at Milan, 1500 at the court of Philip the Fair, in whose service he died in 1506 in Spain), *Heinrich Finck* (about 1492—1506 at the court of the king of Poland, at Cracow), *Adam von Fulda* (who was also important as a writer), *Paulus Hofhaimer* (born 1459 at Radstadt in Salzburg, died 1537 in Salzburg) with their still more distinguished contemporaries *Heinrich Isaak* (*Arrigo Tedesco*, died 1517 at Vienna) and *Thomas Stoltzer* (born in Silesia, died 1526 as Hungarian Royal director of music at Ofen). But artificiality reached its highest pitch under Okeghem's pupils and their contemporaries in the so-called *Second Netherland School* with its chief representatives *Josquin de Près*, the most imposing master of the whole period (about 1475 papal chorister at Rome, died 1521), *Pierre de Larue* (Petrus Platensis, 1492 to 1510 chorister at the court of Burgundy), *Anton Brumel* (1505 at the court of Ferrara), *Jean Mouton* (died 1522 at St. Quentin), Gaspar von Werbeke, Giovanni de Orto, Matthäus Pipelare, Anton and Robert de Fevin, Jean Ghiselin, Philipp Bassiron,

Loyset Compère (all about 1500). The astonishing progress made in the art of musical production towards the end of the 15th century received a further impetus from the invention of the music-type-printing by Ottaviano dei Petrucci (1498 patented by the Council of Venice) which gave works a circulation previously inconceivable, and naturally also stimulated production still further. Petrucci's prints (1501—1523) contain works of the most famous masters of the end of the 15th, and beginning of the 16th century in great number, among these complete books of masses by Josquin, Agricola, Brumel, Ghiselin, Larue, Obrecht, Orto, Isaak, Gaspar (von Werbecke), Mouton, Fevin, etc., besides magnificent collections of motets (especially the *Motetti della corona* 1514—1519). The masses of the masters of this time always bear a name, which, when a national air or a *hymnus* as the *cantus firmus* forms the basis of the mass, is taken from the first words of the song or *hymnus* (thus we have masses on a French military song, *L'homme armé*, by nearly all the Netherland masters from Dufay onwards, further, masses with the names *Malheur me bat*, *Bontemps*, *Faisant regrets*, etc., masses called *Ave regina cœlorum*, *Ave maris stella*, *Da pacem*, *Salva nos*, etc.); when no such cantus appeared in the tenor, the mass was called *Missa sine nomine*. If the tenor adhered as an *ostinato* to a few notes only, which mostly had some hidden meaning, the mass was named after the solmisation syllables of these, as the mass *La sol fa re mi* (= Laissez faire moi) of Josquin. A splendid piece of contrapuntal skill is Josquin's mass *L'homme armé, super voces musicales*. While in the older counterpoint the notes of the *cantus firmus* were sustained so long that it was impossible to follow the melody, in the time of the second Netherland school it became usual to let the same cantus firmus be repeated several times. In the above-mentioned mass, Josquin makes the well known song beginning with the tenor in the Kyrie, end with the first *vox musicalis* (solmisation syllable) *ut*, i. e. *c*, in the Gloria he makes it begin and end with *d* (the second *vox musicalis* = *re*), in the *Credo* with *e*, in the *Sanctus* with *f*, in the first *Agnus* with *g*, in the third *Agnus* with *a*, but here, being too high for the tenor, it is sung by the soprano. In the Gloria the song is sung twice, the second time backwards *(cancricat)*, in the Credo three times, the second

time backwards. Besides this, the same song is heard at times in the soprano and then in the bass or alto, and where this is not the case, the two free contrapuntal voices imitate each other more or less strictly. The second *Agnus* is a three-part canon noted as one with three different time signatures *(tria in unum)*. The piece may follow here as an illustration of that kind of art (Pierre de Larue wrote his entire mass, *O salutaris hostia*, as a *fuga quatuor vocum ex unica*). The notation appears thus:



and the solution (with the substitution of the shorter notes to which we are accustomed), thus:



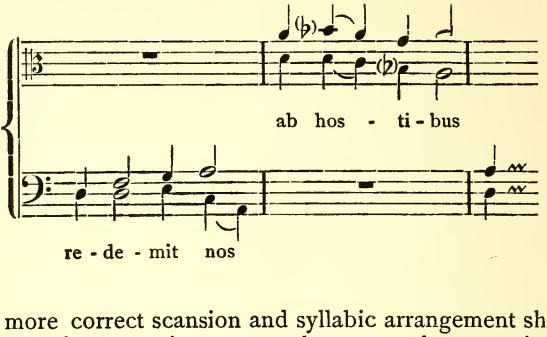
From this example we can form a pretty correct notion of the harmonic effect of the compositions attained by such artificial combinations. Empty passages occur throughout and the harmony often enough wants definiteness, which is partly to be explained by the sustained purely melodic conception of the church modes, so that even in the 16th century (Glareanus) the separate voices in polyphonic music were regarded as set in different keys, e. g., the tenor in the Phrygian, and the bass in the hypo-Dorian. The worst case in all these contrapuntal works of art was that of the text. Beyond preserving the general characteristics of the piece nothing was attempted; even correct declamation was scarcely any longer spoken of. Composers had enough to do to master the gigantic task of developing in a purely musical way the combinations which to us now-a-days appear absurd. The text was written simply so as to begin and end with the parts, it being left to the singers to divide or repeat it as they liked. In a large choir the individual singers may have treated it differently enough. And so, as could not fail to happen, nature asserted her right, and a greater adaptability of the melody to the words was primarily called for.

156. Did the simplification of the manner of composition and the more careful treatment of the text follow suddenly or gradually?

In regard to the composition of masses and motets the former must be maintained, but in regard to song-like compositions the latter, on the contrary. As far back as we can pursue the study of the writing of part-songs, it exhibits an essentially simpler workmanship than the motet and mass. The *Locheimer Liederbuch* presents a three-part composition, *Der Wald hat sich entlaubet*, which, according to the opinion of F. W. Arnold, belongs to the 15th century, and already shows just the same features at the songs of Paul Hofhaimer or Heinrich Isaak, namely clear divisions according to the rhymes of the poem and distinct harmonic cadences, no imitations, and, although the parts move on the whole together, a yet sufficient independence of the individual voices. The *Lied* has evidently preserved its nature through that time of art speculation. The Gregorian chorale was long since essentially antiquated, and had become a stiff skeleton, to decorate which in the most varied manner appeared to artists a sacred duty, though their

hearts were in no way stirred by the old melodies, robbed of living charm. Thence probably the singular fact that even for church compositions they chose the national air, which it is true, not to give offence, had to be stretched on the bed of Procrustes similarly with the Gregorian chorale. But where no such regard for the church was required, the healthy freshness of invention of these song melodies exercised a salutary influence on the composer; the fear of doing violence to songs endeared to the affection directed their style of writing into other, more natural paths. But before everything they respected the claims of the text. The poems were always composed of several similarly constructed strophes; and the texts, often very poetical and of high excellence although at times betraying hyper-naïveté and indelicacy, were able to guard the composer more imperatively against complete extinction of power than the ever-repeating texts of the masses and Psalms with their thousand-fold musical settings. These simple songs were the pleasant home music of that time, and people claimed for it then as we do now *"etwas fürs Herz"* (something for the heart) and did not content themselves with learned arts. Song composition in the 15th century, already reveals the dawn of the modern modes, major and minor, which it is known were established in the middle of the 16th century as 5th and 6th church modes (or with their "plagals" as 9th—12th), when it was no longer possible to exclude recognition of the fact that the old church modes did not suffice. But naturally the two styles — the artificially imitative without regard to the text, and that which merely concerned itself with the text and the chief melody (in the tenor) — did not stand abruptly and immediately opposed to one another, but between the two there developed many transitional forms. On the one hand we already find, in the 15th century, French *chansons* (of Dufay, Busnois and others), in which two parts (tenor and soprano), are treated now in stricter and again in freer canon, whilst a third (the contratenor), evidently the one written last, completes the music in free style; the text is naturally not sung by all the parts together syllable by syllable, but is divided between the three voices singing independently, yet so that it is given complete in each single voice. Petrucci's oldest prints (the Odhecaton 1501—1503)

contain many such *chansons* of the older Netherlanders. In Italy, between the simple popular and artistic styles, another, taking the middle course, was developed in the *madrigal.* The oldest known collection of madrigals appeared in 1533 *(madrigali novi)*; about the same time madrigals by Hubert Naich. In 1536, Willaert already arranged madrigals by Philip Verdelot for the voice and lute. In 1538 appeared the first book of the Netherlander Jachet Arcadelt's madrigals, and these were even for five voices, which remained the customary number (together with 3, 4 and 6). Arcadelt excited immense attention by them. His immediate successors were: Jachet von Berchem, Giaques de Wert, Hubert Waelrant, Costanzo Festa (the first Italian madrigal writer), Adrian Willaert, Claudio Merulo, Ciprian de Rore, Gesualdo di Venosa, Luca Marenzio, Orazio Vecchi, Orlando Lasso, in England Thomas Morley, Orlando Gibbons, and others. The madrigal is, like the *chanson,* mostly of erotic contents, the text is not long nor divided into strophes but epigram-like contained towards the end some fine points. The *chanson* and madrigal therefore represent the better class of artistic song of that time, in which passages of simple harmony alternate with imitations. But on the other hand we also find, although rarely, a disposition, even early, in the church compositions, to a simple manner of writing. Josquin de Près, especially, seems to have understood the excellent effect of sustained harmonies, which often appear in his works in the middle of artistic counterpoint. A hymn, Christum ducem (printed in Petrucci's Motetti della corona I.) appears exactly like a conscious return to the clear, simple rhythm of the older solo hymns. The beginning may be given here: —



The more correct scansion and syllabic arrangement shown here, are, however, in no way the personal conception of Josquin, but a sign of the time. The revival of the study of the old languages and of antique literature and art, began to exert an influence on music also, at first only so far that an attempt was made to restore the antique metres. Special incitement in the matter appears to have been given by the humanist Conrad Celtes of Ingolstadt, whose pupil Peter Tritonius himself published, in 1507, a collection of four-part note-against-note compositions, set to Horatian and other odes and to heroic and elegiac metres, also partly to poems of Celtes, altogether in 22 different metres ("Melopœiæ sive melodiæ tetracenticæ" etc.) in which length and shortness are exactly observed as 2 : 1. The work is the first German print with music type (wood-type). Three years before (1504) in the 4th Book of *Frottole*, Petrucci had already produced some simple compositions, which in like manner aimed at the correct restoration of the antique *metra (Ode, Versi latini)* as well as a *Modo di cantar sonetti* (the fifth and sixth books of the *Frottole* also contain sonnet compositions), which are perhaps likewise to be traced to the influence of Celtes. Later followed Franciscus Bossinensis with two compositions of Horatian odes in a work on tablature for singing with lute accompaniment (1509), Hans Judenkunig the same (1523), Ludwig Senfl (1534), Benedict Ducis (1539) and Paul Hofhaimer ("*Harmoniæ poëticæ sive nonnulla carmina Horatii*", 1539). Glareanus therefore in his Dodekachordon, 1547, introduced the singing of such ode compositions (which he himself also wrote) not in several parts but in one. Towards the end of the 16th century till the

17th, the metrical singing of sacred Latin songs was a part of school exercises. In 1584 paraphrases of the Psalms appeared in antique metres, written by George Buchanan and set to music for one voice by Statius Olthovius; in 1596, twenty of the Latin odes of the Mühlhausen Superintendent Helmbold *"pro scansione versuum"* composed by Johann Eccard; and finally, in 1609, the *Melodiæ scholasticæ* by Bartholomeus Gesius, sacred hymns of different metre but in similar setting. As all these odes were set note-against-note, the interest of the composer necessarily concentrated itself upon the truth of expression and upon the harmony, so that we must doubtless recognize in them one of the nurseries of harmonic music. Moreover, the intentional cultivation of chromatic progressions (v. No. 134) is also to be traced to the study of the Ancients, and helped essentially to make harmonic composition clearer. However worthy of notice may be these different factors, which prepared the way for the purification of the over-artificial composition of the second Netherland school, it nevertheless required a special impetus in order to turn the attention of the masters to their errors just in their greatest and most highly esteemed works. This impetus was given by the Reformation. It is known that one of Luther's first measures was the revival of the church song and the re-instatement of the congregation as participants in the singing, which he made possible when he replaced the Gregorian choral by strophically arranged rhymed songs, the melodies and harmonies of which were taken partly directly from the most favourite popular airs, partly copied from them, whether they were freely invented or obtained by transforming hymns or sequences of the ancient church. Single songs were also adopted from the Bohemian Brethren (Hussites); and finally it is not to be overlooked that in Germany the singing of songs had begun to find a place in the church even before the Reformation. An entirely similar process of transformation of popular airs into sacred songs was effected in the Netherlands when, in the middle of the 16th century, Tylman Susato published the "Souter Lidekens" (Psalm songs), poetical versions of the Psalms to suit familiar Netherland popular song melodies of the time. That the warm enthusiasm which the Protestant congregational singing stirred in the hearts of the faithful, was among the

causes which moved the Council of Trent (1545—63) to consider a reform of the Catholic church music, and before everything the removal of the scandalous, lascivious texts of popular songs from the tenor, can scarcely be doubted, nor yet that, to the growing might of the Protestant church music must also be traced the resolution, taken by the Congregation of Cardinals in 1564, to banish music entirely from the church unless greater solemnity could be given to it and the sense of the words be better reproduced. So the sublime style of Palestrina was, so to speak, created at command of the church, a fact which assuredly would not have been possible had not the conditions necessary for this been fulfilled previously, i. e. had not masters long since, in addition to the artificial works, accustomed themselves to writing others of simpler structure. That precisely in Josquin, the representative of the Netherland art of combination at its height, this consideration of the more ideal aim of music is already very conspicuously presented, has been emphasized above; but in the course of the 16th century it gains an ever-widening basis, due, assuredly not in the least part, to the influence of the peculiar style and manner of feeling of that people to whom the musical supremacy of the Netherlanders was to pass, the Italians. The simple greatness of Orlando Lasso, who already stands very close to Palestrina, is certainly to be traced to the fact, that, although a Netherlander by birth, he grew up in Italy.

157. Did simplified polyphonic composition arise through the Netherlanders introducing the higher art of composition to the Italians, or, on the contrary, did the Netherlanders learn from the Italians the more pleasing manner of composition?

Both are perhaps partly correct. Italy, at the time of the first and second Netherland schools, already had important theorists to show, such as Franchoni Gafori, Philip of Caserta, Pietro Aaron and Ludovico Fogliani, from whose writings we can by no means infer that art in Italy was at that time badly represented. Nevertheless it is unquestionable, that regular schools of composition arose, and music first received a great impulse when Adrian Willaert settled in Venice and Claude Goudimel in Rome. Willaert was a pupil of Jean Mouton and Josquin de Près; before 1520, he lived some years in Rome and Ferrara, then at the court of Lewis II. of Bohemia and Hungary,

and in 1527 became director of the music at St. Mark's church, Venice. Verdelot was at the same place under him as chorister. The invention of the madrigal is not in any case to be ascribed to Willaert, although this form, certainly long familiar in Italy, apparently greatly attracted him (cf. 156), and perhaps influenced his style of writing; his special creation was, on the contrary, the method of writing for a double choir, which he was the first to introduce, in the Vesper Psalms published in 1550 *(accommodati da cantare a uno et a duoi chori)*. It was probably the church of St. Mark, with its two organs one opposite the other, that suggested it to him. In organ composition also he appears to have been active at first (*Fantasie*, *Recercari*, *Contrapunti* in three parts, for singing or playing, 1559). Willaert's most illustrious pupils are, Andrea Gabrieli, Cipriano de Rore and Gioseffo Zarlino. Andrea Gabrieli, in 1566 the successor of Claudio Merulo as second organist of St. Mark's church, developed still further the double choir method of writing, but attained special importance as a promoter of organ composition (*Intonazioni*, 1593; *Ricercari*, 1595) and bequeathed his art to his nephew Giovanni Gabrieli, as well as to Hans Leo Hassler and to the founder of the North German school of organists, Jan Pieters Sweelinck. Thus Italy has already become in fact the land in which the musician seeks his highest education, and to Andrea Gabrieli's great successor Giovanni, who improved in an eminent degree the method of writing for several choirs, as well as organ composition, Heinrich Schütz, the father of German Protestant church music, goes on pilgrimage. *Giovanni Gabrieli*, born 1557, died 1613, became in 1585 the successor of Merulo as first organist of St. Mark's church. *Cipriano de Rore*, born 1516 at Mechlin (therefore a Netherlander), 1563—65, music-director of St. Mark's church as successor of Willaert, became particularly famous as a writer of madrigals (chromatic madrigals, 1560—68), but also wrote masses, motets, etc. for as many as eight voices. *Gioseffo Zarlino*, finally, born 1517, 1565 de Rore's successor as music-director at St. Mark's church, died 1590, was the most distinguished teacher of counterpoint of his time, to whom the immortal fame belongs of having been the first who clearly recognized and defined the nature of harmony in its duality (major and minor chord); Zarlino, who presented the theory of counterpoint more clearly than

any of his predecessors, in a well arranged system (*Istituzioni armoniche* 1558, *Dimostrazioni armoniche* 1571, *Soppllimenti musicali* 1558), consequently inaugurates at once the new era, that of harmonic music. The school inaugurated by Claude Goudimel at Rome became no less important than the Venetian one. *Goudimel,* born 1505 at Besançon, went to Rome about 1535, and had the good fortune to become the teacher of Animuccia, Palestrina and the two Naninis. Later he went to Paris because, as it is assumed, he was devoted to Protestantism; certain it is, that he was the first French Protestant church composer, as he set to music the translation of the Psalms by Marot and de Beze, for four voices, note against note, using already existing melodies, and on the 28th or 29th August 1572 was slain at Lyons as a Huguenot and thrown into the Rhone. Goudimel's style, like that of Willaert, is full of sweet harmony, imitative indeed, yet without artificiality, and is inclined to writing in many parts (he wrote motets in as many as twelve parts). How far his style was influenced by that of Costantio Festa (1517 papal chorister, died 1545) is not easy to determine, as no work of his during the time preceding his labours in Rome is known. But in no case was Festa, whose style already anticipates Palestrina's, influenced by him. Writing in many parts (above five) Festa does not know; Goudimel may have been incited to it by Willaert. Giovanni Animuccia, Palestrina's predecessor as music-director at St. Peter's church, on the contrary, often writes in six voices (Masses, Motets, Madrigals): his *Laudi,* written for the Oratory of St. Filippo Neri, are simple hymn-like songs of praise. That it was not by accident that his style approaches that of Palestrina, but that both were decided rather by the ever stronger insistance of the church on a simpler manner of writing, is proved by a judgment that the Canon Cenci delivered on a series of Animuccia's works written to order for the papal chapel in 1568, viz. that these "should correspond with the decrees of the Council of Trent". The wonder of this, that Animuccia wrote these fourteen hymns, four motets and three masses, in five months, disappears, if we assume that the style of writing which Animuccia learned from Goudimel was in any case in keeping with the decrees of Trent, and he consequently needed only to choose from his own works. The summit of its fame was reached

by the Roman school with *Giovanni Pierluigi Sante*, named *da Palestrina*, born 1514 or 1526 at Palestrina; he was from 1540—44 a pupil of Goudimel, then music-director in his native town, but in 1551 he was already *Magister puerorum* (teacher of the choir boys) at St. Peter's church in Rome, and after a few months music-director: in 1555 he resigned this post and entered the Sistine chapel as chorister, but was turned out again by intrigue under the excuse that he was married. After filling subordinate positions as music-director at the Lateran and St. Maria Maggiore, he rose suddenly to the very highest consideration, when, in 1564, with three masses written at the request of the Congregation of cardinals, he preserved music from being banished from the church (the honour of this request he owed to the deep impression made in 1560 by his *Improperia*, Good Friday Lamentations); particularly decisive of his success was his six-part *Missa papæ Marcelli*, dedicated to the memory of Pope Marcellus II. Palestrina was now nominated composer to the papal chapel, and when in 1571 Animuccia died, he was again re-instated in this master's place as music-director at St. Peter's church. He died universally honoured and admired, February 2nd 1594. That the style of Palestrina was nothing exactly new, is clear from what we have said above; what was new in him was the logical, uniform and truly inspired development of the refinement of polyphonic music, which in its incomplete development already distinguished the styles of Willaert, Goudimel, Festa and Animuccia, — the striking truth of expression, the high nobility of feeling, never contenting itself with the mere achievement of an imitative work of art, and regarding technique not as an end but as a means. Palestrina was just one of those Divinely favoured masters who are not produced once in every century, and in whose hands dust is changed to gold. He has created no new forms, not even a new style, but his greatness consists in this, that he wrote out of the fulness of a rich sensibility, in full possession of the artistic means of his time, from inner necessity. He was neither speculative, attempting that which was new, nor an imitative follower, but a true genius. In fact he neither rejects the art of imitation, of which he had complete mastery, nor disdains the free introduction of raised or lowered notes invented by the Venetian school, especially the chromatic;

he does not bind himself to a strict adherence to the old church modes without ever rejecting them; he did what genius has at all times done, created in the forms of his time out of the abundance of a musical nature, whose laws genius knows without a teacher. The entire edition of the works of Palestrina (Breitkopf and Härtel's, not yet complete) numbers 93 Masses alone, of these 28 are five-part, 21 six-part and 5 eight-part; also 179 Motets, of which 47 are eight-part and 4 twelve-part; to these must be added many Magnificats (some even for 8 voices), Lamentations, Offertories, Litanies, Hymns, Vesper Psalms and Madrigals. In the two Nanini's likewise (Giovanni Maria [born 1540 died 1607], the founder of a music school where Palestrina also taught for a time, and his brother Giovanni Bernardino [died 1624]) the same tendency to composition in more than five parts, as a substitute for the artificial tricks of imitation, is also conspicuous; it must however be observed that the eight-part compositions of the Roman school are not intended like those of the Venetian school for divided choirs (cori spezzati) but treat all the voices as one choir. In the following period, when instrumentally accompanied composition comes into vogue (v. following chapter), the characteristic of the Roman school is the persistent exclusion of the accompaniment, the *a capella* style, and the expression *Palestrina style* now obtains this secondary meaning. The increase in the number of parts is thus (with division, however, into two or more choirs) further augmented; while the next successors of Palestrina, — Anerio, Suriano, Vittoria, still confine themselves in the main to eight parts, the Roman composers of the 17th century, — Gregorio Allegri (died 1652), Paolo Agostini (died 1629), Antonio Cifra (died 1638), A. M. Abbatini (died 1677), P. Fr. Valentini (died 1654), Vincenzo Ugolini (died 1626), Orazio Benevoli (died 1672), G. E. Bernabei (died 1687), like their last successors G. Ott. Pitoni (died 1743) and Pietro Raimondi (died 1853) go continually further up to 16, 24, 48, 64, and even 96 voices, which was naturally a much graver error and over-refinement than the riddle canon of the Netherlanders. A special position, as a contemporary of Palestrina and Giovanni Gabrieli of equal rank with them, is occupied by the Netherland master *Orlando di Lasso (Orlandus Lassus).* Born in 1520 at Mons in Hainault, in 1532 music-director at the court of

Ferdinand Gonzaga, vice-king of Sicily, in 1541 to 1548 music-director at the Lateran in Rome, then a long time travelling, in 1557 up to his death (14th June 1594) at the court chapel, Munich — from 1562 as music-director, Lasso appears to have been influenced on the one hand by the Italian masters of the time — Roman as well as Venetian, but also on the other hand by the Germans Heinrich Isaak and Ludwig Senfl (died about 1555 as music-director at the court of Munich), although not in such a manner that he might be considered as the imitator of either the one or the other. But rather, owing to high endowment and immense productivity, he appears as a thoroughly independent master, the Palestrina of Germany. The difference between his manner of writing and that of the Netherlanders of the second school, can only be defined in about the same words that were applied to Palestrina. He too, knew how to make technique a subservient means; the richness of the harmony is increased on the one hand by frequently over-stepping the number of four voices (he often writes for five and six voices), which might be referred to Italian influence; but on the other hand by clearer harmony, which comes nearer to modern keys — evidently under the influence of the German four-part *Lied* setting. The total number of Lasso's works is said to amount to more than 2000, among which are nearly 1200 Motets, 52 Masses, 100 Magnificats, added to which, many Offices, Vigils, Madrigals, Chansons, four-part German Lieder, etc. Especially worthy of notice are his *Davidischen Busspsalmen* (*Psalmi pœnitentiales*, printed in 1584; a splendid parchment manuscript of the same with miniatures is an ornament of the Munich Library); a rich selection of Lasso's works appeared as *Patrocinium musices*, 1573—76, in five volumes, at the expense of the Duke of Bavaria. Almost simultaneously, the two radiant chief stars of the epoch of polyphonic music disappeared (1594) immediately before the discovery of the new method, which was to leave its stamp upon a new time, and was quickly to consign the rich blossom of the preceding epoch to an oblivion, from which only the most recent direction of historical research has endeavoured to rescue it.

TWELFTH CHAPTER.

THE RISE OF ACCOMPANIED MONODY.

158. Is the transition to the third chief period of musical history — that of harmonic music or accompanied melody — sharply defined by a special fact, or does it only follow gradually from the further development of the germs pointed out in the preceding chapter?

The recognition of the nature of harmony certainly appears in the 16th century (Zarlino) as the final result of a gradual development; the transition to the consideration of music in several parts in regard to the harmonies resulting from the same, was a very slow one. The old way of viewing it, in the sense of several melodies running side by side, vanished at once on the introduction of thorough-bass (v. 135). Similarly in the 16th century, the conviction very gradually prevailed that a beautiful melody, comprehensible by itself in its simple combination with the words, and undisturbed by obtrusive imitations and frequent crossing of the parts, could create the deepest impression. But the conscious employment of this recognition in a new manner of writing, which opposed to one particular melody the others as subordinate, accompanying, and designed only to strengthen its expression, followed quite suddenly as an epoch-making discovery. It has rightly often been pointed out that the simple *Lied* in several parts, which, in Germany especially, we could trace back to the 14th century, and which in the 15th century was fully developed, must be regarded as a very important forerunner of accompanied monody. Even if composers in the 16th century still regarded the tenor as the principal part and therefore always entrusted to it the melody *(cantus firmus)* upon which they built a work in several parts, it could still not escape their notice, particularly in note-against-note writing, that it was not this but the soprano which stood forth as the crown of the whole and defined its outlines most sharply. Perhaps, from the fact that in the 16th century the old name of "*Discantus*" gave way more and more to the new one of "*Cantus*", we might conclude that they had fully understood the importance of the highest part as the melody. *But that which*

fixed the final conception of the significance of the melody in part-writing was the rise of instrumental accompaniment. Long before the invention of the Florentine monody, a real accompaniment of vocal parts by instruments had begun to develop itself, which must not be confused with the former manner of playing a melody in unison, with or without sustained basses (Bourdons), as was the old custom. Not that composers in the 15th century, or even still earlier, had already written independent instrumental accompaniments to vocal melodies; that most decidedly was not the case. But it is quite certain that in songs for several voices one or two parts were formerly sung, and the rest played on instruments. It is well known (73) that by the 16th century, complete families had developed of all the instruments in use, so that one could either perform entirely with instruments of the same family or strengthen with them, pieces in four or five parts. Many compositions of the 16th century appeared with the additional title "To be sung or played on instruments of every kind". Now if from necessity some missing voices were occasionally replaced by means of instruments, it could not fail to result that the dominating effect of the expressive voice-part, as compared with the instruments, would stand out prominently. This would be particularly striking if one combined with the vocal part, not wind or bowed instruments, but the poor-toned instruments with plucked strings (lute, clavier). But just this heterogeneous combination became an especial favourite before the 16th century. In 1509 Petrucci already published 70 Frottole (simple Italian popular songs) arranged for the voice (soprano) and lute (tenor and bass), which justifies the conclusion (confirmed by other tablature works of the kind) that in simple domestic music-making they had become accustomed to singing the soprano part and performing the other parts at need upon some instrument capable of playing several parts. It can only excite astonishment that 100 years were needed to make the so obvious practical application of composing immediately for one voice with accompaniment of the lute or other instrument; i. e., for the accompanying parts to dispense with the regular part progressions, which were not exactly suitable for performance. The only explanation is, that they did not yet understand harmony as consisting of chords, but only as the result of part-writing. The ori-

ginal compositions of the 16th century for instruments only, are written precisely as if they were intended for voices (which indeed they really were, for even the dances were sung); but those written for the lute (Petrucci, as early as 1508, produced four books of Paduanas, Calatas etc., for the lute) and kindred instruments (theorbo, guitar) look like nothing more than arrangements; in these also the highest part is especially complete and the rest scantily written, with nevertheless an undeniable prominence of the chord element. The really purely instrumental preludes (Praeambula, Priamel, Preamel) for the lute, as they are found in the lute books of Hans Judenkunig (1523), Hans Neusiedler (1536), Hans Gerle etc., present partly imitations like the French *Chansons*, partly full chords with incomplete part writing, partly intersperse runs as a substitute for the sustained notes impossible on the lute. Embellishments of every kind also develop in the 16th century as a substitute for sustained notes on the lute. A very instructive collection of such lute pieces (partly under the name of *Ricercar*) is to be found in Wasielewski's "History of Instrumental Music, in the 16th century". But even prior to the 16th century, every embellishment of lute composition appears to have been introduced on the organ also, at least, if the *Fundamentum organisandi* of Conrad Paumann (A. D. 1452) is really a book for the organ, and not a text-book of counterpoint (a methodical introduction to arpeggios and ornamentations of long notes). Since Paumann (Baumann, Paulmann?) was very famous as the inventor of the German lute tablature and as a lute player, there is nothing against the assumption that he introduced the peculiarities which lute composition demanded, upon the organ, which from its capability of sustaining long notes did not really need them. The subsequent grand development of the organ style is in any case to be traced ultimately to the lute arrangements. But we already find highly important attempts at free evolution in the organ pieces of the two Gabrieli's.

159. Who made the decisive step of inventing compositions directly for the voice with instrumental accompaniment?

No single person did this, but, from the very beginning, a number. If, according to what has previously been pointed out, accompanied monody can still be regarded as really an innovation, it appears that theory, intelligent re-

cognition, had become the mother of practice, of the activity of creative fancy. Talented discussions in a learned courtly society, it can scarcely be doubted, first ventilated the need of a reform in vocal composition (in which the artistic style of the church composers and madrigal writers was kept in mind) and considering classic antiquity (of the practical music of which they could have had only an indistinct idea), declared a thorough simplification as the most suitable means. That they shot beyond the mark at first cannot surprise us, considering the abstract manner in which the new style arose. The method of the reform seems to have been exhaustively discussed, for, almost simultaneously, different composers, who belonged to that school, came forward with experiments so alike as to be easily confused. The above named learned and artistically inspired circle assembled at the house of Count Bardi, later at that of Jacopo Corsi at Florence, in the two last decades of the 16th century and the first of the 17th. The veneration felt for the Ancients, especially after the foundation of the Platonic Academy by Cosimo the Great, who died in 1574, was very deep in Florence; the Platonic form of dialogue became the usual one in scientific and artistic discussions, in short, they strove in everything to imitate the Greeks. And so the revival of the Greek musical drama also became one of the objects to be striven for, and the very names of musical dramas which arose during that period point distinctly enough to their Grecian origin; the Daphne of Peri, the Euridice of Peri and Caccini, etc. The subjects are without exception Greek. So Giulio Caccini, surnamed Giulio Romano, may give his account first of the invention of *recitative song* and of the bass part, not vocal but instrumental, connected therewith, as well as of accompaniment properly so-called. But here we must warn the reader beforehand not to attribute these inventions to him personally; Jacopo Peri, who like him had intercourse with Corsi, has at least an equal share therein. The intellectual origination of the innovation appears, partly at least, to belong not to the two composers, but to the other members of the circle: Bardi, Corsi, Strozzi, Vincenzo Galilei and others. Caccini relates in the preface to his *Nuove Musiche*, which appeared in 1601 at Florence (according to Winterfeld's translation; Joh. Gabr. II. 13.): —

"At the time when the excellent society of Johann

Bardi, Count Vernio, flourished at Florence, a society which united not only a large part of the nobility, but also the first musical artists, talented men, poets and philosophers of the town, and I frequently visited it, I learned (with truth can I maintain it) more from their erudite discussions than from thirty years' occupation with counterpoint. For those intelligent gentlemen encouraged me at all times, and persuaded me by the clearest arguments, to esteem lightly that kind of music which did not admit of the words being properly heard, but spoiled the sense and verse — now lengthening and now shortening the syllables, to make them suit the counterpoint, that destroyer of the poetry *(laceramento della poesia)*, then to adhere closely to the method so highly praised by Plato and other philosophers, when they aver that there are three things in music, — firstly the words, then the rhythm, and last of all the tone, and not the converse; to assent to such a view if I wished that music should reach the hearts of the hearers and create those wondrous effects which ancient writers extol, and which it cannot produce for modern hearers by means of the counterpoint. As I now convinced myself that productions in the feeling of the present day produce no pleasure beyond that which is afforded to the ear alone by the harmony, that without understanding the words the mind (*inteletto*) cannot be moved, the thought occurred to me to produce a kind of singing in some measure like a harmonious speech, wherein I showed a certain noble contempt for melody *(nobile sprezzatura del canto)*, touched here and there some dissonances, but let the bass rest, except where, following the common custom, I wished to avail myself of it, with the notes of the middle parts performed on instruments, to express some emotion, for which alone they are useful."

Here we have the most significant beginnings: natural declamation above even a figured bass, which is not a counterpoint added to the vocal parts, but merely a harmonious support to their wavering notes, and, in the middle parts, in suitable places, lively reproduction of the emotional contents. As the thorough-bass part here is not an extract from a contrapuntal piece, but an independent part, which shows in the figuring the harmonic significance of notes of the vocal parts, it must evidently be regarded as quite differently new from the figuring of the vocal

basses which gradually came into use to meet a practical need in the 16th century. On the other hand, it might be difficult to prove that Viadana's *basso continuo* or *generale*, was really different, although Viadana has on its account been called an inventor. Viadana's *Concerti Ecclesiastici* came out first (1602), and excited great attention owing to the embellishments in the accompaniment of a song in one, two or three parts, by means of a continuous bass; whether it is to Viadana or to the first musical dramatists that the *prius* of the invention belongs, could only be doubtful if we assume that Viadana had for some time already employed this embellishment in works of earlier publication, which are unknown. To this an utterance in his preface to these *concerti*, points; otherwise we must certainly have assumed that he introduced the style of Peri and Caccini into church music and perfected the manner of its employment. He says in the preface mentioned:

"Many were the causes which moved me to write this kind of concerti. One of the most important was the observation that if a cantor wished to have three, two, or even a single part, sung to the organ, he found himself compelled *(as compositions of such a kind were wanting)* to select for the purpose from a motet at hand in five, six, seven, or even eight parts. But these parts were closely connected with the others, on account of imitations, inversions, cadences and so much else which depended on the entire nature of these works. Individually considered, therefore, they were full of long, repeated rests, without proper cadences and without agreeable melody; they showed only poor, and little tasteful (melodious) progressions. To this was added the constant interruption of the words, which in single parts were either missing entirely or put together in the most unsuitable confusion. All this caused such kind of song to appear to the listeners incomplete, wearying, without charm, distasteful indeed, not to mention the inconveniences to the singer in executing the song. Long have I reflected over the conspicuous difficulties, and sought to remedy these evils, and, God be thanked, I believe that, with these concertos of mine, I have found the right means to do so! They are not only set for each of the four vocal parts singly, but also for each of the same in pairs of equal and unequal voices,

and in manifold combination up to three or four parts, so that each singer may be satisfied, and each find something to suit his taste and convenience. . . . . I have employed all diligence in avoiding rests where the nature and peculiarity of the song did not admit them; in the melody, I have sought to attain the agreeable, the charming, good progressions. I introduced ornamental cadences where they were appropriate, gave opportunity for expressive rendering, for embellishment and other things of the kind, in which the singer might show his skill and taste. The words, I have sought with all care to place under the notes, so that being prominent and giving an unbroken meaning, they might be understood by the hearers if only singers pronounced them distinctly".

We see that Viadana does not emphasize the introduction of thorough-bass as his invention, but rather the treatment of the vocal parts, or indeed, more correctly still, the whole manner of composition. He lays the principal stress upon the fact that his *concerti* are not vocal compositions in which some of the vocal parts are replaced by the organ, but that the co-operation of the instrument is intended and obligatory from the beginning, and that its part therefore has quite a different form from that of a vocal bass. It has no words to perform, therefore needs no rests. But he has guarded the vocal part from being cut up, has not mutilated the text but placed the syllables well underneath. The similarity to the compositions of the dramatists Peri and Caccini is striking; the latter certainly took less notice of the *bel canto*, indeed Caccini speaks much rather of his noble contempt for melody; but who knows whether Viadana does not, just in opposition to them, turn more attention to beautiful song. As it was from the church concertos of Viadana that the *Cantata* developed, his invention of this new form is of great significance. The third if not the first "inventor" of his time is *Emilio del Cavalieri*, born at Rome towards the end of the 16th century, Inspector general of arts, and musician to Fernando of Medici at Florence, where in 1599 he appears to have died, as his celebrated work, *La rappresentazione di animo e di corpo*, was brought out in 1600 by Alessandro Guidotti, with a preface and notes. Whether Cavalieri was incited by Bardi and Corsi and their circle, or whether he might

himself have been the actual originator of the new manner of writing, cannot be determined; in any case, it is certain that he was one of the founders of the *Stilo rappresentativo*. His work above named was the first *Oratorio;* three others: — the *Disperazione di Filene*, the *Satiro* (1590) and the *Giuoco della cieca* belong to the beginnings of opera. He is not, like Caccini, a contemner of beautiful melody, but introduces, even into the vocal parts, embellishments taken from the instruments which used *colorature* (lute, clavier). Let us remember how the long flourishing epoch of the Netherlands limited itself entirely to the 3—5 part composition of church music, Masses, Motets, etc., and besides, only to the simpler popular air (German Liedlein, Canzonets, Frottole, Villanelle) and the nobler artistic *Lied* (Chanson, Madrigal), and now we stand suddenly before an abundance of new forms, before a new world in music. Through the acknowledgment of silently prepared beginnings of artistic instrumental music, and by its consciously distinct combination with vocal music, arise, all at once, the *musical Drama*, the *Oratorio* and the *Cantata*. The musical drama, it is true, fared but badly at first; Caccini and his first rival Jacopo Peri, were not geniuses, but only capable musicians, who were able to turn the theories of Bardi, Corsi, Vicenzo Galilei, Pietro Strozzi, Girolamo Mai, Giambattista Doni and Ottavio Rinuccini, into musical practice. The beginning was made, after some small attempts with "sonettes", canzonets and dramatical scenes, in 1594, with the opera *Dafne*, written by Rinuccini and composed by Caccini and Peri jointly. In 1600, followed Peri's *Euridice* and Caccini's *Euridice* and *Rapimento di Cefalo*. That which distinguished these works absolutely from all the older attempts at combining music with the drama, was the solo song (Monody) with instrumental accompaniment, while in the earlier attempts, as Orazio Vecchi's *Anfiparnasso* (1594 at Modena), both the speech and the reply are, after the manner of a madrigal, sung by a five-part chorus. This solo-song was, to be sure, dry enough, more spoken than sung (whence the whole style was called also, *stilo recitativo*) and accompanied by a thorough-bass played on a harpsichord, lirone (v. No. 72), theorbo or chitarrone; in the prelude, interlude and postlude these instruments combined, and likewise in order to strengthen the choruses. The declamation itself is still heavy and

resembles chanting (psalmody); and the lyric numbers specified as airs, are more declamatory than actually *cantabile*, but they are distinguished thus, that to the same notes several lines of the text are sung after the manner of the strophes of a *Volkslied*. But, exceptionally, even ornamentations also appeared, like those used in the lute and organ. The first *Oratorium*, Cavalieri's *Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo*, was first performed after the composer's death in 1600, at Rome, in the oratory of St. Filippo Neri; it was a kind of *mysterium*, of moralizing contents, with the personification of ideas (soul, body, memory, understanding, will, hatred, fidelity, love, patience, etc.), such as had long been known with a chorus introduced here and there. Here also what was new, was the solo song with instrumental accompaniment (according to a figured bass). The personifications appeared as actors upon the stage. To this form Cavalieri's next successors, Kapsberger and Landi, adhered; Giacomo Carissimi (1604—1674) first introduced the narrator (*historicus*) and the scenic representation was omitted, whereby the oratorio obtained the form, from which it developed to the *passion*, as we know it in Seb. Bach. Handel's oratorio comes nearer again to the old form, although without scenery. If neither the secular musical drama of Peri-Caccini nor the sacred one of Cavalieri could exercise a direct influence upon the further shaping of church compositions, the sacred concertos of Viadana, on the other hand, did so all the more. Ludovico Grossi surnamed *da Viadana* (after his birth-place), born 1564, died 1645, lived at Mantua, Rome, Fano and Venice. His *Concerti ecclesiastici* (1602) signify a transformation of motet composition; i. e., they present a direct reform in church song. Although the *a capella* style continued for some time side by side with the accompanied one, instrumental accompaniment now inevitably gained entrance into church vocal music. Viadana himself, in 1605, already introduced masses with *continuo* (thorough-bass), in 1610 four-part Psalms with *continuo*, and with lightning-speed the new style spread over the whole of Europe. Moreover Viadana's music preserved much more of the positive acquisitions of the previous period, made the vocal parts imitative or concerted (i. e. in contest one with the other), one as independent as the other, and the bass is not merely a meagre support, as with the Florentines,

but is a part itself, which flows naturally and melodiously, and without interruptions (hence its name *basso continuo generale).* The great advantages of the new manner of writing, namely the obtainment of greater effects with simpler means, both in regard to the artistic technique employed, and the demands made upon the performing vocal staff, were too striking not to have found approval and imitation everywhere. The complicated mensural definitions now appear for the most part as useless ballast, of which they knew how to disburden themselves; at the same time the bar-line was generally introduced (composers now no longer endeavoured, by wanton aggravation of the difficulties of reading, to lend their secret art a greater halo), and singers no longer needed to be learned. Even the rejection of the usual restrictions in regard to the use of the sharps and flats, which were nevertheless intended, and the performance of which in the cadences was demanded of the singers as a matter of course, belongs to this time. In Germany, Seth Calvisius, the worthy *Cantor* of St. Thomas' Church at Leipzig (1556—1615) and Michael Praetorius, the Wolfenbüttel director of music (1571—1621) came forward enthusiastically for the abolishment of superfluous difficulties; Praetorius himself achieved distinction in the new accompanied style, but he is still more famous for his theoretical work, the *Syntagma musicum* (1616 to 1620, 3 vols.), which is intimately connected with the movement.

160. *How did the musical drama (the opera) develop further in the 17th century?*

Only a few years after the meagre attempts of Peri and Caccini, there arose a gifted master in *Claudio Monteverde* (born 1567 at Cremona, died 27th Nov. 1643, at Venice), to whom it was given to deliver musical drama from obscurity and develop it to truly impressive effects. Monteverde was music-director at the court of Gonzaga at Mantua, where in 1607 he received the commission to write, for a wedding-festival, a work like Caccini-Peri's Euridice, which excited so much attention. He chose the same subject (but the poetry of his Orfeo is not, as in the Euridice, that of Rinuccini). In 1608 already, followed his *Arianna.* It was probably to the success of these works that he owed his appointment in 1613 as music-director at St. Mark's church, Venice. There he wrote at

first chiefly church music: — Masses, Motets, Magnificats, etc. also six books of Madrigals; only in 1623, a half dramatic work with a narrator *(testo)* was performed, *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda*, and 1627 a real opera, *Proserpina rapita* (both *privatim*). But when in 1637 Venice built the first public opera-house (di San Cassiano), Monteverde appeared on the boards, in addition to *Arianna*, with *Adone* (1639), *Enea e Lavinia* (1641), *Il ritorno d' Ulisse* (1641) and *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642). Monteverde not only enhanced the power of expression in the recitative, but extended the melody in the *arioso* passages; but he is especially renowned for his enlarged and characteristic introduction of instruments. In *Tancredi e Clorinda*, he first employs, with splendid effect, the tremolo of the bowed instruments; in *Orfeo* he accompanies Pluto's song with trombones, the chorus of spirits with *positives (organi di legno)* and the lamentations of Orpheus with bass viols. Besides the bowed instruments, the orchestra consists of two positive-organs, a regal, four trombones, two cornets (Zinken), a flautino (flageolet), a clarino (treble trumpet) and three muffled trumpets. Moreover, Italian opera composers long preferred stringed to wind instruments; and evidently with the same feeling as in the original reform, as the stringed instruments do not cover up the vocal parts like the wind instruments, and therefore do not prevent the understanding of the text so much. The stringed orchestra of that time was of course not so exclusively composed of bowed instruments as the present one, but combined for the most part instruments the strings of which are twanged (guitars, lutes, theorbos, harps and always several harpsichords). But at that time the violin already began to rise to a supremacy over the other instruments. Antonio Amati, indeed, flourished about 1592—1619 at Cremona; i. e. they already had instruments of the highest excellence at command, and the agility of the instrument as well as its fulness of tone, could not fail to be taken advantage of. The forms of the opera were enriched by Monteverde with the *Duet* and the somewhat more extended instrumental *ritornello*. Besides Monteverde, *Francesco Cavalli* (properly Calleti-Bruni) deserves special mention as a promoter of the dramatic style of music. This master was first a chorister (1617), then second and first organist, and lastly (1668 to 1676) music-director at St. Mark's church,

Venice, and brought out his first opera, *Teti e Peleo*, in 1639, and in 1669, his last, *Coriolano*. His *Jason* (1649) is especially extolled. Likewise *Giovanni Legrenzi* (1625 to 1690), who wrote seventeen operas for Venice, is to be named with distinction; his orchestra dispenses almost entirely with wind instruments. Other composers of the first period are Agostino Agazzari, Marco Zanobi da Gagliano, Girol. Giacobbi, Paolo Sacrati and Caccini's daughter Francesca. It was less for Italy than for the Viennese court, where from 1660 the new art-genus found zealous supporters, that Marc Antonio Cesti wrote, 1666—1669 vice-music-director at the court of Leopold I.; of his works only *Orontea*, *Cesare amante* and *La Dori* were performed in Venice. The opera found its way first to Germany, where, in 1627, Heinrich Schütz, Andrea Gabrieli's great pupil, produced his German opera *Daphne* (Rinuccini's text translated by Opitz) at the castle of Hartenfels near Torgau, at the marriage of the Princess Sophia of Saxony with George II. of Hesse-Darmstadt. Schütz also wrote a ballet *Orpheus and Euridice* (1638). France obtained the opera through Cardinal Mazarin, who in 1645 invited an Italian company to Paris, where they performed first Sacrati's *Finta pazza* and Peri's *Euridice* (1647). The desire of imitation was naturally soon excited among the French; at first, music to tragedies and ballets was written; and in 1659 Robert Cambert wrote the pastoral play *La Pastorale* (text by Perrin), in 1661 *Ariane* followed. In 1669, Perrin obtained a patent for the erection of an operatic stage, the *Académie royale de musique* (as the grand opera was called up to modern time) and in 1671 brought out the first real opera, *Pomone*. In the meantime, *Jean Baptiste Lully*, an Italian by birth though an acclimatized Frenchman (born 1633, died 1687), who in 1653 was already composer to the court, succeeded by intrigue in getting possession of the patent, so that it was withdrawn from Perrin and transferred to himself. Lully found in Quinault a gifted poet, who showed an understanding, at all times rare, for the claims which music makes upon poetry (before everything the dispensing with a succession of verses of like metre). In 1672 he produced his first opera, a *pasticcio*, consisting of selections from his older ballets and masques, *Les fêtes de l'amour et de Bacchus*, and in 1687 his last, *Acis et Galatée*. We must mention specially,

Alceste (1674) *Thésée* (1675, performed last in 1778), *Roland* (1685) and *Armide* (1686). The opera of Lully was distinguished from the Italian, such as it had meanwhile developed, by a stricter adherence of the music to the natural declamation of the text, i. e. Lully is one of the great reformers, who, in favour of the poetry, withstood the preponderance of the purely musical, of florid melody, lengthening of the syllables, ornamentation, repetition of the text, etc.; he took up again the same ground as the first Florentine inventors of the musical drama, and did the same which after him Gluck and lately Wagner have done. The difference in the results lies in the difference of the times, i. e. in the increased development of musical means and in the different degrees of creative endowment. It is no wonder if Lully's music appears dry, almost pedantic to us now. As he set French texts to music, his manner of treating the text necessarily led to the cultivation of a genuinely national style; in Lully's music lives the natural rhythm and accent of the French language. His operas continued for a century on the French stage, and were first supplanted by the superior productions of Gluck. With new song forms, Lully has not enriched the opera; what is deserving of praise in him is, that the chorus frequently takes part in the action and declaims with the same accuracy as the solo-voices. The instrumental portions obtain a higher interest through the introduction of a great number of *characteristic dances*, which belong to the action, as well as through amplification of the prelude, the Overture. The Lully overture exhibits two parts contrasting in character and tempo: an introductory *Grave* with a following *Allegro* generally fugal, which were both repeated; after the *Allegro* the *Grave* was mostly played again. The less important representatives of French opera of the 17th century, all younger than Lully, are: Pascal Colasse (died 1709), Henri Desmarets (1662—1741), Marc Antoine Charpentier (1643—1702), Jean Joseph Mouret (1682—1738), André Campra (1660—1744, the most important French opera composer between Lully and Rameau) and André Cardinal Destouches (1672—1749). The chief composers of the Vienna opera, which, by the way, did not become a national one, but always remained an Italian importation, are: Antonio Draghi (1635—1699), who wrote nearly 200 stage pieces, the already-mentioned Marc Antonio Cesti,

Antonio Caldara (1716—1736, vice-music-director), Joh. Jos. Fux (1715—1741 first court music-director, the famous contrapuntal theorist), Marc Antonio Ziani (born 1653, died 1715). Also, in Munich (Torri, Bernabei), Dresden (Pallavicino), Brunswick (Steffani), Italian opera found a place; but in the last town it was soon supplanted by the German opera developing from Hamburg, which quickly found a footing also in Leipzig (Strunck, Heinichen), Prague (Stölzl), Weissenfels (Kobelius) and other places. The chief composers of the Hamburg German opera (1678 to 1738) are: Johann Theile (1646—1724) whose *Adam and Eve* opened the Hamburg opera, J. W. Franck, Nik. Strunck, Joh. Sig. Cousser (1657—1727) Reinhard Keiser (1673—1739), who wrote 16 operas alone for Hamburg, Johann Mattheson (the famous musical author, 1681—1764) G. Philipp Telemann (1681—1767) and G. Fr. Händel (only during the years 1705—1707). Likewise in England, partly through the influence of Cambert, who after the loss of his patent had gone to London, the musical drama found a nursery, after the ground had already been prepared by the masquerades that had long been in fashion; through Henry Purcell (born 1658, died 1695) an English national opera flourished transiently. Contemporaries of Purcell are his brother Daniel, also John Eccles and Gottfried Finger, still older than Purcell: John Banister and Pelham Humphry. After Purcell's death, men like Gaillard and Pepusch were unable to prevent the rise of Italian opera. It is known that London became at this time one of the chief centres of the reputation of Italian opera composers, and Italian opera flourishes there still. In Italy itself, Naples had become the town in which the young art-genus should enter on a new phase of its development. The Neapolitan opera, according to the Italian inborn taste for beautiful melodic construction, cultivated especially the melodic element, so scornfully contemned by the founders of opera; with it begins the actual period of the *bel canto* and of vocal virtuosity, which was carried so far that finally the composer became the servant of the singer, and operas were written with a direct regard to the qualities of certain vocal artists, who were to perform the same. Nevertheless, this change was at first only a readily comprehensible, justifiable reaction in favour of the proper claims of music; the founders of the Neapolitan opera, A. Scarlatti, Leo,

Feo, first clothed the skeleton of the Florentine reformers with young flesh and breathed warm life into it, which even Monteverde and Cavalli had only in modest measure succeeded in doing. And the treatment of the instrumental accompaniment was still further materially developed by the first Neapolitans. Before all others must be mentioned as pre-eminent, the founder of the Neapolitan school: *Alessandro Scarlatti*, born 1659 at Trapani in Sicily, died on 24th November 1725, at Naples. He is said to have had no less a teacher than Carissimi. His first opera, *L'onesta nell amore*, was performed in Rome in 1680 at the palace of Queen Christine of Sweden. In 1694 he became court music-director at Naples, he, however, again went to Rome, as church music-director, 1703—1709, but returned again definitely to Naples. Scarlatti wrote probably 120 operas and numerous other works, 200 Masses alone (some for as many as ten voices), many Cantatas, Stabats, Psalms, and likewise Concerti for vocal parts with violin and organ accompaniment. His overtures (*Sinfonie*) are to be distinguished from Lully's, as they begin with an *Allegro*, have a *Grave* introduced as a contrast, and conclude with a third piece in quick time; their character is already much more purely instrumental than that of the Lully overtures, and gives the impression that from them the modern symphony, the grandest of instrumental forms, would develop. In the vocal numbers also, Scarlatti shows an advanced treatment of the instruments, especially of the violins, which he occasionly employs *obligato;* the *recitativo secco* (plain recitative with only a thorough-bass accompaniment), he developed into the *accompagnato*, and the aria into the grand Da capo aria (first in *Teodora* 1693) which was long the standard form. His orchestra in *Tigrane* (1715) is already exactly that of the small symphonies of Haydn 50 years later, namely, violins, violas, celli, double-basses, two oboes, two bassoons and two horns. Next to Scarlatti, Francesco Durante (born 1684, died 1755) and Leonardo Leo (born 1694, died about 1740) are to be specially noticed as eminent teachers of the Neapolitan school, both of them pupils of Scarlatti, but at the same time students of the works of the Romans (Palestrina style), Leo, indeed, under the guidance of Pitoni in Rome. Gaetano Greco is likewise eminent as a teacher (Pergolesi and da Vinci were his pupils). As a composer,

Durante occupied himself chiefly with church compositions, to which he made important contributions, whereas Leo wrote 43 stage pieces, but, indeed, in church compositions also, he scarcely remained behind Durante. Moreover, the more the Neapolitan opera continued to develop in the direction noted above, the more its style became sharply opposed to the strict ecclesiastical one, that of the Roman school, which held the traditions of the Palestrina style sacred, and consequently opera composition and church composition become heterogenous professions. But the composition of oratorios, owing to the common root of both art-forms, was still zealously carried on by opera composers, indeed, the two forms approach each other so closely at times, that one can hardly define their boundary, as not only were oratorios performed with scenery, but stage pieces closely resembling the opera (Serenata) were sung without scenery, more after the manner of a concert. It is certainly not wonderful that, with such close relationship, very much that was altogether operatic found entrance even into real church music, particularly in the *Stabat mater*, which was also a great favourite with opera composers.

161. *How did the beginnings of independent instrumental music further develop in the 17th century?*

As appears from Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi*, the foundation of the organ style, the diminution of the notes of a treble part in smooth runs or a sustained rhythm above a slowly moving bass, had already been invented in the middle of the 15th century. But it is still questionable whether those systematic school exercises of Paumann's had organ-playing specially in view, or whether they were not much rather contrapuntal exercises, preliminary studies to vocal composition *(organisare*, as is known, still meant, at that time, writing in several parts). The circumstance that the German tablature is employed in writing it, can hardly be held as a sufficient proof against the latter view. Be that as it may, Paumann's work is still, in any case, in the highest degree worthy of notice as a method of figured counterpoint also, and fills a place of honour beside even the most eminent theoretical works of the time, such as those of Johannes Tinctoris. In any case, the comparative helplessness of the organ style at the end of the 16th century, is striking when placed beside such beginnings 150 years earlier. Let us take note, as we cannot but

do, how instrumental music developed after the rise of monody, and we cannot dispute that it was a long time before instrumental music stripped off the sign of its descent from vocal music. That the first organ pieces also, of the opening 17th century, were not yet anything else than vocal pieces embellished with runs and ornaments we have already seen. Indeed even the developed fugal writing of the two Gabrielis, notwithstanding all the ornamentation interspersed, reminds one still of vocal composition. The characteristic activity of modern instrumental music, even in the thematic treatment, developed indirectly, namely, in combination with song in instrumental accompaniment. To understand this, one must remember how the accompaniments of the 17th century, simply noted as figured basses, were performed. The diminution of the notes, which had been adopted in home arrangements, now became generally recognized officially and taken for granted by composers for the practical performance of simply noted basses. Thus Michael Praetorius (1618) requires of a lute-player that he "with lovely touches up and down, now with extended, now with short close, doubled reduplicated passages, now with a *sbordonata* of strange harmony, as if one would get away from the key, with a nice pretty manner *(gare et perfidie)* in what he repeats, and make one kind of fugue on different strings, the same repeated and played again, and *in summa* intermingle with the parts long groups, shakes and accents, that he may give loveliness and taste to the concert, and amusement to his hearers, but at the same time, with great industry and judgment, take care not to offend the other instrumentalists, or run together with them, but allow himself time and leisure, especially if instruments of one kind are tuned together and not to different notes, or are of different sizes. Now, concerning what is to be observed in regard to the needs of the lute, the same must also be observed with instruments of the same kind."

One distinguished those instuments for which *coloratura* and *diminution* were allowed or required, as *ornament* instruments from those which merely sustained the notes as they stood, the *fundament* instruments; "for just as the fundament instruments keep the fundamental bass and the harmony firm and steady, so the ornament instruments must now adorn and decorate the melodies with variety and

variation of beautiful counterpoint, according to the quality of the instruments."

That this was a dangerous affair is obvious. Praetorius therefore requires that the lute-player should understand counterpoint, as he has continually to invent new counterpoints; also he might not uninterruptedly *tirare et diminuere*, that is idly make "runs and *colorature*, particularly when they come in at the same time as the other instrumentalists, who similarly will not yield to them, but also wish to be regarded as great masters and rapid inventors of coloratura, consequently nothing is heard but an unpleasant confusion and adverse struggle. When therefore there are several different instruments they must consider each other, give each other room, not as it were clash with one another, but if they are many, each wait his time, till his turn comes to show his *Schertzi*, *Trilli* and *Accent*, and not all twitter like a bevy of sparrows."

It was asking a good deal, to expect any sensible result in that way. But clearly, here is an important hindrance to the development of instrumental composition; instrumentalists claimed as their right the possibility of introducing such embellishments where they thought good, and these detestable ornaments, which certainly destroyed the good effect of many a composition, were continued into last century. Scheibe, in the *Kritischer Musikus* (sixth part), reproaches Johann Sebastian Bach with expressing all ornaments, every little embellishment and everything one might understand by the phrase *method of playing*, with the actual notes, whereby his pieces were deprived of the beauty of the harmony. If we see here the revival of the old *contrappunto alla mente*, the *chant sur le livre*, in the domain of instrumental music, we must not fail to observe what magnificent fruit this coloratura and diminution of the notes has borne; the lively rhythm, the resolution of the harmony into a delicate transparent climbing plant, such as we find in Bach, and such as has justly been compared with Gothicism, is nothing but the artistic development of that which as a harmless virtuoso embellishment was out of place.

Nevertheless, Bach did not bring about this revolution so suddenly; long before his time, instead of being limited to *virtuoso* performance, the embellishments appeared in the writing of composers, and for the organ, indeed, as men-

tioned. As the organ can sustain notes at pleasure, it certainly had less need of the *coloratura* as a substitute for sustained notes than the lute and claviers. On the other hand, it was acknowledged that the introduction of diminution of the notes on the organ, took away its clumsy inflexibility of sound, and they began, if not in the 15th, certainly in the 16th century, to permit the introduction on the organ also of ornamental passages and runs, instead of the long sustained notes. Embellishment was adopted by composers and artistically shaped, and so the *Toccata* arose. To be sure, this had as yet very few distinctive characteristics, such as we are accustomed to find in other forms. All that can be said in general about it is, that it usually begins with some full harmonies without any definite thematic motive, then more and more brilliant passage-work is built upon the harmonic kernel, and small pieces with fugue-like imitations are introduced. The *Toccata* is the creation of Claudio Merulo, the predecessor of Johannes Gabrieli as organist at St. Mark's church, Venice. It is true that Adrian Willaert, Merulo's elder contemporary, had published organ pieces still earlier, probably as early as 1550 (2nd. ed. 1559), under the name of *Fantasia, Ricercari e Contrapunti*, whereas Merulo's Toccate only appeared in 1598, although they were probably written considerably earlier, since Merulo was already organist at St. Mark's in 1557. But Willaert's organ pieces do not yet, like those of Merulo, show a germinating artistic form, nor yet that contrasting of motives of different character; in short, they still remind one too much of vocal composition. A much nearer approach to the *toccate* of Merulo are the organ compositions of Andreas Gabrieli, who became organist of the second organ in 1566 when Merulo advanced to the first. These compositions, under the names of Canzone, Ricercari and Fantasias exhibit quite similar harmonic parts, also passage-work and in the main fugal motives. No radical difference whatever exists between the various compositions mentioned as belonging to this time, and Claudio Merulo's invention is perhaps after all only the invention of the name, which points out that the work is instrumental. And the name of *sonata* likewise, which we first meet with in Johannes Gabrieli beside the *canzone francese*, does not in the least mark any clearly definable form, but, as Praetorius distinctly says,

"named, therefore, *a sonando*, because it is not performed by the human voice but only with instruments, like the *canzone*. . . . . But there is in my opinion this difference: that sonatas are gravely and pompously set after the manner of motets, but canzone have many black notes and pass briskly, gaily and quickly along". That sounds almost like a difference, but not in the form, only in the movement; on a closer consideration of the monuments, however, it is seen that even this distinction cannot be carried out. The modern form of the sonata has no connection with it; the sonata consisting of several parts, which had been developed in the first place for bowed instruments, was first adapted to the clavier in 1595, by Johann Kuhnau. The sonatas, toccatas, canzone, ricercari, fantasias, etc. of the outgoing 16th, and incoming 17th century, are, on the other hand, to be regarded as the direct predecessors of the Fugue form, which matured definitely during the course of the 17th century. The latter was greatly advanced by Girolamo Frescobaldi (born 1583 at Ferrara, died 1644 at Rome), who is therefore counted as the inventor of the fugue. It nevertheless first received its fixed form of a real fugue at the hands of the Central German organists Samuel Scheidt (born 1587, died 1654), J. Jac. Froberger (born 1635, died 1695), Joh. Christoph Bach (born 1643, died 1703) and Johann Pachelbel (born 1653, died 1706).

While organ-playing thus made a great leap towards the attainment of higher steps, which, owing to the identity, or at least the near relationship of the manner of playing, was at the same time advantageous to the clavier for which the Frenchman *François Couperin* (born 1668, died 1733) and the son of Alessandro Scarlatti, *Domenico Scarlatti* (born 1685, died 1757) wrote enduring works, so also music for other instruments developed (apart from the dance pieces which now continued to be written without words) at first chiefly in connection with vocal music, and especially indeed, in the domain opened up by Viadana, that of the concerto, followed by Cesti's and Carissimi's *Arie da camera* (1667), and further by A. Scarlatti's *Concerti sacri* with bowed instruments and bass, also the same composer's Cantatas and the Chamber duets of *Agostino Steffani* and *G. M. Clari*. It is not surprising, that in the middle of the 17th century the next step forwards was made, the replacing of the vocal parts by instruments treated *cantabile;*

who first did this, is uncertain; but in 1681 Heinr. Johann Franz Biber already publishes six Violin Sonatas; in 1686 Giuseppi Torelli a Chamber concerto for two violins and bass, and a whole series further of similar works; in 1683 begin the epoch-making publications of the first great violin virtuoso, the famous *Arcangelo Corelli* (born 1653, died 1713), consisting of two and three-part sonatas for one or two violins with a fundament instrument (organ, cello, bass, viol, cembalo, bass-lute), which were followed, as op. 6, by twelve *Concerti grossi* for two violins and a cello as solo instruments *(Concertino obligato)* and a number of other bowed instruments as *Tutti (Concerto grosso).* And now the different threads ran together again, orchestral composition, developing from the side of the opera (in its preludes — the symphonies and overtures — ritornelli, pastorals and interspersed dances — especially in Lully), solo composition for the organ and piano and the chamber style for bowed instruments; also the church composition already cultivated by Johannes Gabrieli for bowed and wind instruments (canzonas and sonatas of 1597 and 1615), in which *Zinken* and trombones, together with violins, violas and organ bass are required (in as many as 22 parts, the wind and bowed instruments being treated as separate choruses). This was further improved especially in Germany (great praise is due for its cultivation to the Leipzig town-musician *Pezel*, whose numerous instrumental pieces appeared from 1669—86). So about the year 1700 we find instrumental music so far developed in various special branches, that it only needed the gift of genius to mature new grand artistic fruit. As is well known, there arose simultaneously in Bach and Handel two giant intellects for whom it was reserved to unite with the most imposing collective effect, all that their predecessors had prepared. A glance at the music practice of the 17th century in general, shows a radically different picture from the 16th. From the choristers, who alone prevailed formerly, the supremacy of composition is completely wrested; art — even to the Roman school — has become more secular; the teachers of theory and the masters of composition are for the most part not of clerical rank; nearest to the entirely secular opera composers — the *maestri al cembalo* of the opera house, — now come, in the foremost place, the organists and cantors, especially in Germany, where the

protestant church music exhibits a new branch of art of mighty growth. Gradually, beside these, appear the conductors of chamber music, the leaders of the now continually improving orchestra, in which the part played by the bowed instruments becomes increasingly dominant. Thus gradually a complete revolution is effected, not only in the manner of composition, the theory and practice of music, but also in the social position of musicians, and the age of virtuosos begins, when the executive musician is idolized by his contemporaries.

162. What development did the Protestant church music show in the 17th century?

Among the first promoters of Protestant church music, the distinctive mark of which we must consider the dawn of intenser feeling and the stronger emphasis of the melodic element, are to be named besides Luther's musical adviser Johann Walther, who, however, was no genius, especially Ludwig Senfl (died 1555 as court music-director at Munich), Jacob Gallus (1550—1591), A. Gabrieli's pupil Hans Leo (von) Hassler (1564—1612) and Johann Eccard (1533 to 1611), of whom the first three named were, moreover, Catholics, and only drawn in the new direction as composers, whereas Eccard is a thoroughly Protestant composer, and founds his compositions throughout upon melodies and poems of the new church (*Preussische Festlieder* 1598). The first Protestant composers of the new accompanied style, which arose in Italy in 1600, are, as already mentioned, before all Michael Praetorius (born 1571, died 1621) and Heinrich Schütz (Sagittarius). Schütz, whom we have already met with as the first German operatic composer, was born in 1585 at Köstritz (Saxony) and died in 1672 as court music-director at Dresden; from 1609—12, he was a pupil of Johannes Gabrieli at Venice, and lived therefore exactly at the time when the new style first spread, and in the midst of its first representatives. In 1619 he already published Motets and Concertos for as many as twelve parts with *continuo*, indeed most of his church compositions he wrote with accompaniment, such as the small church concerti "*in stilo oratorio*" in from 1—5 parts, etc. The twelve (thirteen, including thorough-bass) part compositions of 1619 are for three and four choirs, although only two should be composed exclusively of singers, the others mainly rather of *Zinken*, trombones, bassoons, flutes and

bowed instruments. If we again see here the exact school of Gabrieli (certainly up to the thorough-bass) the *Symphoniæ sacræ* of 1629, in their solo songs with *obligato* accompanying instruments, already show substantial progress, compared with Viadana's concertos. But, epoch-making, inaugurative of an entirely new art-form are Schütz' sacred works in dramatic style, his *Auferstehung des Herrn* (printed in 1623), the *Sieben Worte am Kreuz* and four Passions (according to the four evangelists), direct precursors of the Passion music of Joh. Sebastian Bach.

For the representation of the history of the Passion in Holy Week, there already existed in the Catholic church a rather monotonous kind of recitative, after the manner of the Gregorian chant with which many of the earliest artistic arrangements were connected. These recitatives had passed into the Protestant church. Thus in Keuchenthal's hymn-book there is a Passion, which is played almost throughout *recitativo*, and is only introduced and concluded by a four-part chorus. Moreover, the so-called *Turbæ*, i. e. the multitude of people or assembly of the disciples, appears in four parts. An advance was made by Bartholomæus Gese (1555—1613), whose Passion according to St. John is opened by a chorus: — "*Lift up your heads unto God, and hear the passion of our Lord Christ, as St. John has described it*", and closed by the chorus: "*Thanks be unto the Lord who hath redeemed us by His sufferings from the grave.*" The Evangelist is represented by a tenor, who again also sings the Bible words after the manner of a Psalm *(psalmodierend)*. On the other hand, the words of Christ are given as a quartet, the speeches of Peter and Pilate in three parts (tenor, alto, soprano), those of the maids in two parts (two sopranos), those of the High Priest in two parts (alto and tenor) and of the Turbæ in five parts.

In Schütz' *Auferstehung des Herrn*, the Evangelist sings his account after the manner of church intonation, with long notes throughout, accompanied by four violins. The cadences of his song are always rhythmically constructed and the accompaniment is connected with them in like manner, important passages are made prominent by a declamatory delivery, which rises to a fully developed melody, adorned even by a lengthening of the syllables,

as, for example, where it is said "for an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone from the door of the grave", "Magdalene wept without", "And their eyes were opened, and they knew him; and he vanished out of their sight", etc. The conversations of the Lord, of the angels, of Mary Magdalene, some of the disciples, of the high priests, etc., as they appear in the accounts of the evangelists, we find treated after the manner of small concertos; these are, according to the number of persons introduced speaking, songs for two or more voices, which now imitate one another, and now proceed together by the same steps, supported by a thorough-bass — two-part in this form also, where only one part is spoken and the other is performed by an accompanying instrument. *A six-part and an eight-part double chorus* are placed, the former at the beginning, the latter at the end of the whole: the former to the introductory words: — "the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, as it is described to us by the four evangelists", the latter to St. Paul's thanksgiving "Thanks be unto God, who has given us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ", between which the evangelist, as ninth voice, sings a loud *victoria!* in which finally both choruses join. In the middle of the whole there is one single six-part chorus of the Eleven assembled at Jerusalem, which is declamatory: "*The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.*" The delivery of the history in a church tone forms the basis of the whole. Where it lingers longer upon a note, it is necessary, to avoid monotony and obtain a proper effect, either that the organist should play graceful and appropriate runs or *passaggi*, or, if the violin accompanies instead of the organ, one of the many violins must make *passaggi*. Not till a year after Schütz' death in 1672, in the Passion of the Prussian music-director Sebastiani, published at Königsberg, did the missing elements appear, which Bach's Passion at length presents in a typical manner. Sebastiani, for instance, "in order the more to awake devotion", took church songs with their known melodies into the Passion. The melody was sung, the harmony, on the contrary, was performed on four viols with a fundamental part. The Turbæ are in four parts, the single speeches are solos, and the biblical narrations of the Evangelist are no longer kept in the style of the choral, but

sung as recitative in the newer acceptation, and indeed with the accompaniment, as in Schütz' *Resurrection of our Lord*, of violins and viols.

Among the most illustrious promoters of the new art-form cultivated by Schütz and Praetorius, belongs Johann Christoph Bach, uncle of Joh. Seb. Bach, whose sacred dramatic cantata or oratorio "*And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon*", is written for two five-part choruses, with bowed instruments, bassoon, four trumpets, kettle-drums and organ, and displays, for that time, imposing characteristics and force of expression. Andreas Hammerschmidt (born 1611, died 1675, at Zittau) J. Chr. Bach's elder contemporary, also composed to the same text (1556, in the *Geistliche Gespräche*), but for a six-part choir, *Zinken* and organ. Hammerschmidt is altogether one of the most famous German cultivators of the concerted style; he wrote church concertos for from 1 to 12 voices, partly only with *continuo*, partly also with *obligato* instruments, the 84th Psalm in nine parts, and secular odes, dances, etc. His most famous work is the "*Dialogi*, or Conversations between God and a believing soul" (1645).

Of Protestant church music, organ music forms a substantial part, especially that built upon motives from church songs, the chorale figurations; whereas the organ pieces of the Venetian masters (Merulo, Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli) were only, either elegant transcriptions of vocal pieces (of secular canzone and madrigals) or original imitations of them with alternately sustained chords and florid passages, or else imitative, after the Netherland manner of writing; whereas also in Girolamo Frescobaldi (born 1583, died 1644 at Rome) and his pupil Joh. Jacob Froberger (1641—57 court organist at Vienna), vocally conceived ideas are embellished more externally only, and the virtuoso element remained especially prominent, which was true in a still greater degree of J. Peters Sweelinck (born 1562 at Amsterdam died 1621 at the same place), pupil of Andrea Gabrieli, and the North German organist Heinrich Scheidemann (pupil of Sweelinck, died 1654 at Hamburg), Joh. Adam Reinken (born 1623 at Deventer, died 1722 at Hamburg), Dietrich Buxtehude (born 1637 at Helsingör, died 1707 at Lübeck). On the other hand, another pupil of Sweelinck, Samuel Scheidt (born 1587 at Halle on the Saale, died 1654 at the same place), who,

as the composer of sacred concertos (in 2—12 parts, with thorough-bass) and instrumental pieces, belongs to the promoters of the new style, first began to vary choral melodies in the organ style, and thus create a new art-form which attained great importance. His principal work *Tabulatura nova* (1624, 3 vols.) is written in German tablature. Scheidt found, in the path made, many imitators, among whom, the already mentioned Joh. Christoph Bach, further the latter's brother Joh. Michael Bach (born 1648 at Arnstadt, died 1694 at the same place) Johann Pachelbel (born 1st September 1653 at Nuremberg, died at same place 1706, from 1677—1690 organist at Eisenach and Erfurt), and Johann Gottfried Walther (born 1684 at Erfurt, died 1748 in Weimar) known as the author of the first German musical lexicon (1732), are especially eminent. In these chorale arrangements the art of the Netherlanders celebrates a beautiful revival. All the arts of imitation could be made use of here without finding the opposition which arose through the suppression of the words by the Netherlanders. By the most varied combinations of the chorale motive with its augmentation, diminution, and inversion or, where the chorale was continuously treated as a *cantus firmus*, by counterpoints in canonic or strictly fugal form, the new instrumental art-form only obtained firmer unity and consistency, — logical necessity so to speak. But the chorale itself, by its character and the meaning of the words, determined the character of the entire composition. For the chorale arrangement was intended to be played in immediate connection with the vocal chorale itself as prelude or postlude during service. Variations such as Buxtehude's and Mattheson's variations of chorales in dance-form remained exceptions, which is also specially explicable by the fact, that the chosen dance-forms (those belonging to the suite: — Sarabande, Courante, Gigue, etc.) had long ceased to be danced, and had become mere rhythmical types.

4300

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

THE MUSIC OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

163. From what time does the musical supremacy of Germany date?

From about 1700. For, if just at this time Italian opera (Neapolitan school) had also attained its widest reputation, inasmuch as it established itself in Vienna, Dresden, Munich, Brunswick and London, importing not only the works of Italian masters, but also Italian singers and conductors, and influencing other nations without doubt, Germany nevertheless had at this time already so stately a number of independent artists to point to, and developed an aim so peculiarly its own, distinguished by depth of feeling and high moral earnestness, that the superiority of German art, which became more decidedly evident from decade to decade, may freely and without exaggeration be dated from the end of the 17th, and beginning of the 18th century. But it stepped undisputed and indisputably to the front, when the two giant musicians Bach and Handel almost simultaneously drew to themselves public attention, the one, at first, only in the narrower circle of his native land, the other immediately in all Europe.

No family has ever produced so many thorough musicians one after another as the Thuringian family Bach. The names of Johann Michael Bach, Johann Christoph Bach, Johann Sebastian Bach, Karl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, the Bückeburg Bach and the Milan Bach, may be particularly mentioned, the two first as uncles, and the four last as sons of Joh. Sebastian Bach. In this family musical talent was not only hereditary, but it was also for centuries carefully nursed and educated.

Veit Bach, the oldest ancestor whom Seb. Bach knew anything of, was a miller at Wechmar near Mühlhausen. His son Hans (Hans or Johann is the name of about half the Bachs that can be traced), on the other hand, was already becoming a true musician, as is shown by a copper-plate-print of the year 1617, under which was written:

Hier siehst du geigen Hansen Bachen,
wenn du es hörst, so musstu lachen,
er geigt gleichwohl nach seiner Art
und trägt ein hübschen Hans Bachens Bart.

His musical education, Hans Bach received in Gotha from the town musician Nicolaus Bach, without doubt a relative. It appears, therefore, that the Bachs were already in the profession; in any case, they now entered it more and more. The year of the plague, 1626, lessened the number of the family; Hans Bach himself died of the plague. Of the 800 inhabitants of the village of Wechmar, 503 died.

Of Hans Bach's sons, one, of the name of Johann, became the ancestor of the Erfurt town-musicians, the "Bache": another, Christoph Bach, J. Seb. Bach's grandfather, became organist and town musician at Weimar. In the sixties of the 17th century, the Bachs were, so to speak, constant possessors of the music posts at Weimar, Erfurt and Eisenach; if there was a vacancy here or there, one of them proceeded to fill it. Thus then we also find a son of Christoph Bach, Ambrosius Bach, the father of J. Seb. Bach, going from Erfurt to Eisenach to take the place of another Bach as town musician. Johann Christoph and Joh. Michael Bach, the two, several times mentioned, most important composers in the family before Joh. Sebastian, were likewise descendants of the merry, comical Hans Bach, but children of the youngest of his many sons, Heinrich Bach, who was organist at Arnstadt for over 50 years. Although born in the time of the severest exhaustion resulting from the hardships of the 30 years' war, both these men have a freshness and depth of talent, which only seems comprehensible when one considers the manner of life of the Bachs, secluded and left to their own resources, their religious thought and high morality untouched by the evil influences of the general lawlessness.

Johann Seb. Bach was born on 21 March 1685 at Eisenach; his father was the town musician Ambrosius Bach, his mother, Elizabeth Lämmerhirt, the daughter of a furrier of Erfurt. From his father, Sebastian received his first instruction in violin-playing. His mother died when he was nine years of age, his father about a year later,

just after he had married a second time. The education of the boy Sebastian was intrusted to his elder brother Johann Christoph, who was organist at Ohrdruff (near Arnstadt). Of the musical qualities of *this* Johann Christoph (the name frequently occurs) we know nothing more; but he had been for three years a pupil of Pachelbel, who, from 1675—1680, was organist at Eisenach. His first scholastic instruction, Sebastian received at the Lyceum of Ohrdruff, but from Easter 1700, at Lüneburg, where, as matin singer he held a position free of expense. From Lüneburg he repeatedly made pilgrimages to Hamburg, to admire the organ-playing of Reinken and Lübeck; in Lüneburg itself, the organist of the *Johanniskirche*, Georg Böhme, was a pupil of Reinken.

His first appointment Bach received in 1703, when a youth of eighteen, and indeed as violinist in the private band of Prince Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar. Bach, therefore, although he devoted his attention chiefly to organ and piano playing, must nevertheless have been a good violinist. In learned studies he was probably not much wrapped up either in Ohrdruff or Lüneburg, he very early looked upon the career of a musician as a matter of course for himself. But after a few months, Bach already entered a new, and to him, more congenial sphere of action, when, after a successful trial in playing, he was appointed organist at Arnstadt, with a salary of $73^2/_3$ Thaler ($= £\ 10{,}17{,}11\,1/_6$) per annum. From Arnstadt he made his famous pedestrian tours to Lübeck, to admire the artistic skill of the organist there, Dietrich Buxtehude, and to learn from him. He went beyond his leave of absence considerably in doing this, and one must assume that he was very highly esteemed, as the constituted authorities did not on that account discharge him. But Bach left of his own accord when an opportunity offered for him to better himself.

The position of organist at St. Blasii at Mühlhausen had, at the end of the year 1706, become vacant by the death of Joh. Georg Ahle, who had been not only organist but town councillor and *poëta laureatus*. The competitors for the comfortable post, Bach beat with ease out of the field. In 1707 the position was given him, and with short notice he now resigned that at Arnstadt; the latter was shortly after bestowed upon his cousin Ernst Bach. Now Bach was, as he thought, in a position to marry, and he

espoused his cousin Maria Barbara, daughter of the organist Michael Bach at Gehren, who became the mother of his two most illustrious sons, Friedemann and Karl Philipp Emanuel. Mühlhausen had a respectable musical past. Joachim von Burgk, really Joachim Moller of Burg near Magdeburg, a hundred years earlier one of the best German church composers, had held the post of organist at St. Blasii; Johann Eccard the famous founder of the Prussian music-school at Königsberg (Joh. Stobäus, Heinrich Albert) was born at Mühlhausen and educated by Burck, until he became a pupil of Orlandus Lassus at Munich; nevertheless, still later, he composed (as already mentioned) odes of the Mühlhausen superintendent Helmbold. Georg Neumark also, the famous singer of the *Kirchenlied "Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten"*, at the same time an excellent gamba virtuoso, was born and brought up at Mühlhausen. The two Ahles, father and son, Bach's last predecessors in office, were respectable composers, particularly in church *aria*, which was composed in strophes with instrumental *ritornelli*. The father, Johann Rudolph Ahle, was also not unimportant as a composer for the organ, especially in chorale-figurations and fugues, which latter, certainly, do not yet show the full form of the "real" fugue. The elder Ahle also sat in the council of Mühlhausen. — Bach came out at once with great energy; the chorus was strengthened, the orchestra completed, and above all good vocal literature provided; what he found to hand, were chiefly Ahle's compositions. His first musical act was the performance of a cantata of his own, on the occasion of a change of councillors (the *Ratskantata)*, which indicates very considerable progress in form compared with its predecessors, particularly on account of the choral fugues which appear in it, in which the organ takes an independent part, so that chorus and orchestra appear blended in a new manner, the orchestra being neither ruled nor ruling, but co-ordinated, as an independent factor together with the choir. At the end of June 1708, Bach requested leave to resign his post of organist at Mühlhausen, and went again to Weimar, where he had held his first position. Now he became court organist and *Kammermusikus* to the reigning duke Wilhelm Ernst. In 1714, he received there the title of ducal *Concertmeister* (leader [1st violin] of the orchestra) which

points to the fact that he had work to do as a violin player. In Weimar, Bach found a near relative and excellent musician in the already-mentioned Johann Gottfried Walther. Walther possessed an eminent gift for the treatment of complicated forms of counterpoint, and the intercourse of more than eight years with this man, who, by the way, was of the same age as Bach, doubtless furnished the latter with abundant suggestions. The organ chorales of Bach's, written in Weimar, exhibit the same partiality for canon as those of Walther. The castle church organ was a most splendid instrument particularly rich in pedal stops. Bach had opportunity here of playing before very distinguished company, and consequently devoted himself with special zeal to organ compositions. Mattheson writes concerning him in 1716, "I have heard things about the famous organist at Weimar, of such a nature that one must very highly esteem the man". From Weimar also, Bach made short artistic journeys, which quickly spread his fame. Beside the cultivation of organ playing and organ composition, that of chamber music also received a new incitement in Weimar. Prince Johann Ernst, Walther's pupil in clavier-playing and theory, himself a composer, was further instructed in violin playing by Bach. At the court special attention was given to the practice of Italian chamber music, such as the Violin concertos by Antonio Vivaldi (died 1743), the next promoter of the form created by Corelli. Bach arranged 16 of Vivaldi's Violin concertos for the piano, and three for the organ, in parts entirely remodelling them. Naturally, he did not stop at arrangements, but completed afresh a perfect process of assimilation in works of his own.

It appears that during the first half of his time at Weimar, Bach occupied himself preponderatingly with instrumental composition, and turned his attention almost wholly away from vocal composition. Only three cantatas, "*Nach dir, Herr, verlanget mich*", the *130th Psalm* and "*Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*", appear to belong to this time. But, on the other hand, during the time from 1713 onwards, he devoted himself with all energy to the cantata, but according to the texts of Erdmann Neumeister, who introduced for the cantata a new free form of verse inclining to that of the madrigal. To his texts, he composed the Christmas cantata, *Uns ist ein Kind geboren*, the

Sexagesima cantata "*Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*", the Easter cantata "*Ich weiss dass mein Erlöser lebt*, the Advent cantata "*Nun kommt der Heiden Heiland*", and the Whitsuntide cantata "*Wer mich liebet*".

When in 1714 Bach became *Concertmeister* (orchestral leader), he not only had to take part in the duties of *Capellmeister* (music-director) with the invalid, half-disabled Samuel Drese, but he was also required to compose annually a number of cantatas; consequently, there dates from this time a greater productiveness on the part of Bach in the domain of the cantata. The author of the poems of the cantatas which now followed, was Salomo Frank, government secretary at Arnstadt, later at Jena, finally consistorial secretary at Weimar. The first and best known is "*Ich hatte viel Bekümmerniss*" *(per ogni tempo)*, then followed the Palm Sunday cantata "*Himmelskönig sei willkommen*" with many others. It may be remarked, simply, that Bach's Weimar cantatas are most important in the solo songs, that in them he displays a rich, varied melody throughout, and everywhere strikes the right note of feeling in a masterly manner. As a master of choral song, he only developed later; indeed, neither Neumeister's nor Frank's poems were suited to effective choral numbers, their chief aim was recitative and aria. A secular cantata also, a special piece by Frank and Bach in honour of the Duke's birthday, was written in 1716.

In 1714, it was suggested to Bach that he should apply for the post of organist at the *Liebfrauenkirche* at Halle; he was not without inclination to obtain it, but asked a higher salary than was offered, and the affair ended. In December of the same year, at the *Nikolai-* or *Thomaskirche* at Leipzig, he produced the cantata "*Nun kommt der Heiden Heiland*", and filled the office of organist throughout the entire Divine service. In the year 1717 he visited Dresden, to make the acquaintance of different musicians there, and probably also to get some knowledge of the organs. At the same time there was staying in Dresden, Louis Marchand, organist of St. Benedict, Paris, who had an extraordinary reputation as an organist and harpsichord-player. Between this musician and Bach there was to have been a contest, which, however, did not take place, as Marchand, fearing defeat, quitted the place. Again, in the same year Bach left Weimar finally, and accepted the

position offered him as music-director to the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen; he justly felt himself insulted because it was not he, but G. Ph. Telemann, who had been chosen as Drese's successor (cf. p. 95).

The position of Bach at Cöthen was of quite a different kind from that at Weimar. The young Prince Leopold was abroad from 1710—1713, had stayed some time in Italy, and, under the direction of the German musician David Heinichen, resident in Rome and later in Venice, had also occupied himself industriously with Italian music. He himself sang in a beautiful bass voice, and played, as it appears, the violin, gamba and clavier. It was evidently chamber music chiefly, that was played at the court of the Prince; Bach received the title of *Capellmeister* and director of the Prince's chamber music; nowhere is there any indication to be found of his having had an organ at his disposal Even an orchestra in any degree complete, appears not to have existed. The appointments of the court were in every way very simple; there was not even a theatre. The exclusive occupation with chamber music, which his new position brought with it, could not remain without influence on his immediate artistic development, *i. e.*, it necessarily led him to composition in this special department also, and encouraged his progress therein, and thus it was that cantata and organ chorale were temporarily laid aside, and in place of them, the violin, *cembalo*, *viola da gamba*, came into favour for every kind of duet, terzet (trio) and quartet.

From Cöthen Bach once went, in 1718, to Halle, where Handel, who had gone over from London, was spending a little time with his family. But Handel had just left the day before. So it happened that Bach and Handel, the two greatest musicians of their time, never became personally acquainted. When, 10 years later, on the occasion of Handel's being again at Halle, Bach sent Friedemann from Leipzig, because he was ill himself and could not go, Handel's time was too short, and again the attempt failed. Evidently, both of them cared but little about it, otherwise they would not have rested without finding means of becoming acquainted. Their natures were so different, they were too little rivals for a contest between the two to have appeared desirable; although, certainly neither was on that account hostile to the other, yet both

might well feel that they were not alike, that their views, like their manner of life, were very divergent.

In 1720, Prince Leopold made a journey to Carlsbad and took Bach with him, which probably he had also done when he went to a watering place in 1718. When Bach returned, he found his wife dead and buried. Maria Barbara only reached the age of 36 years. Bach was shocked in the extreme, for his family life had been extraordinarily cordial and intimate. In the year 1720, the composition of a cantata again occurs, perhaps during his stay at Carlsbad. But it was not written for Cöthen, because there, as we said, all the requisites for a performance were wanting. Perhaps it was intended for performance in Hamburg, where Bach wished to go in the autumn, and really did go indeed; but whether the performance took place, is not known. The cantata is composed to the words "*Wer sich erhöhet, der soll erniedrigt werden*", and is among the most eminent of Bach's works in this department. The Hamburg journey had this time probably some private practical aim. Although he doubtless wished to see the aged Reinken once more, who, notwithstanding his 97 years, was still organist at St. Catherine's church, yet it is quite certain that he intended applying for another excellent position at Hamburg, namely, that at the *Jacobikirche*, which had become vacant by death. Bach was already famous enough for the announcement of his presence and an intended competition at St. Catherine's church, to attract many persons of consideration and high position to the church at the appointed time. Reinken personally gave Bach the most unreserved praise. Bach could not wait to the end of the competition of the candidates for the position of organist at the *Jacobikirche*, because his Prince required him back. But the position had been promised him with apparent certainty in case he sent in his consent in writing. Bach desired the position and wrote, but he nevertheless did not get it, as it had meanwhile been sold, for 4000 marks into the church coffers, to a man who has remained musically entirely unknown.

With the very famous Hamburg musical author and historian, but less so composer of the time, Mattheson, Bach appears to have had no intercourse, at least Mattheson nowhere mentions anything about a meeting with Bach, although he heard him at St. Catherine's church, and

speaks admiringly of his organ playing. He said of Handel "There is especially no one who will so easily surpass Händel unless it were Bach of Leipzig".

Not having an organ at his disposal, Bach turned his attention, at Cothen, more to the clavier. That he had already thoroughly cultivated this, is evident from his ability to compete with Marchand, for it was not on the organ but on the harpsichord, Marchand's chief instrument, they were to have competed.

The harpsichord (*cembalo*), the same as the organ, had several manuals, and indeed pedals, and was therefore well suited to replace the organ in the house, and as an instrument for practice, although its thin, quickly subsiding tone had very little similarity with the tone of the organ. But it was, in common with the organ, unable to shade the tone; only by passing to another manual could a different tone-colour be obtained, as the different manuals plucked the strings with quills of a different power of resistance. A tone far more susceptible of shading, was that of the clavichord, although this was a small instrument and could give only a medium strength of tone. That Bach was, moreover, not satisfied with the quickly subsiding tone of the clavichord and clavicembalo (harpsichord) is seen by his having constructed in 1740 a *lute-clavicembalo* which had double strings of catgut, and a brass string an octave higher, which could be damped. It appears therefore that Bach, like his uncle Michael formerly, understood the construction of instruments. Everybody has heard of Bach's skill in tuning instruments, for which a good ear is not all that is required, since, with instruments of 12 semitones to the octave, it is a question not of acoustical purity only, but of skilful temperament also. But equal temperament is not an invention of Bach's; it was established theoretically in 1691, by Werckmeister, and first turned to practical account for running through the circle of keys by David Heinichen.

A radical transformation was given by Bach to the fingering, or manner of placing the fingers on keyed instruments. The older manner of playing, for example that of Couperin (whose *L'art de toucher le clavecin* has been re-edited by Brahms), hardly ever uses the thumb, and, instead of passing the thumb underneath, passes the second finger over the third. They played with the fingers

well stretched out, and allowed the thumb to hang down. Bach made most extensive use of the thumb, and played with the fingers slightly bent, so that the end of the thumb came to the same height above the keys as the ends of the other fingers. J. Gottfried Walther, certainly, also requires the use of the thumb, Heinichen also, and Handel likewise is said to have used the thumb as well. Nevertheless, an actual *method* of fingering was still wanting. Bach first laid down the fundamental rule in scale-playing, to let the thumb always follow the semitone interval, for example c d e f g a b c. Bach's fingering is by no means that now in use; for instance, he even used the fourth finger for passing over, which is no longer usual now; moreover, he frequently passed the second finger over the third, etc. Still these expedients in playing polyphonic compositions, are not to be dispensed with even now. Philipp Emanuel Bach forbids the passing of the second over the third, but then his compositions are largely homophonic. But in any case, in Ph. E. Bach, who is regarded as the founder of modern clavier technique, we must recognize the improver of his father's method. How little importance was attached in former times to the method of fingering, is evinced by Michael Praetorius, who derided those who gave themselves trouble to introduce order into the fingering, and gave as his opinion, that, if the notes only fell with precision and grace upon the ear, it was all one how it happened, even though one took one's nose to help.

A *Klavierbüchlein*, by Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, begun in the year 1720, has descended to us, and gives us a practical idea of a course of instruction by Bach; the compositions are all originally by Bach, and are partly made use of later in the *Wohltemperirtes Klavier*, the first part of which had its origin also in the Cöthen period. The French suites, so-called from their conciseness and shortness, in contradistinction to the later-written English suites, were also composed at Cöthen. Each of the French suites consists of an *Allemande*, *Courante*, *Sarabande* and *Gigue*. Both parts of the *Wohltemperirtes Klavier* contain, it is known, alternately a prelude and a fugue, in each of the 12 major and 12 minor keys. Its aim was an instructive one. The suites also, were devoted to the object of instruction, and went

likewise through all the keys. They were intended specially for Anna Magdalena, Bach's second wife, whom, at the end of 1721, he introduced into his motherless home. She was the daughter of Wülken, court and field trumpeter at Weissenfels, and at that time only 21 years of age. Although Bach had lived very happy and contented with his first wife, yet his relationship with Anna Magdalena was closer still, as she was very musical, and took a lively interest in the artistic work of her husband. She also copied music excellently, and there exist copies made by her of the compositions of Bach and others, which show a handwriting very similar to Bach's, differing only in a few particulars.

That Bach was a thorough violinist, was already shown by his being twice appointed violinist at Weimar; the second time he was even made *Concertmeister* (leader of the orchestra). But his treatment of the violin in composition is unique in its kind, as he wrote three Sonatas and three Suites, or, as he called the latter, *Partien* without any accompaniment. But the composition is not monophonic but polyphonic, the accompaniment there being really also included. Here the influence of the polyphonic art of organ-playing is seen. Although Corelli already knew how to render the instrument to a certain extent polyphonic, and had introduced the *Fugato* for it, yet he could not dispense with the accompanying *cembalo*. The method of playing with double-stops had been cultivated apart from Corelli, especially by the German violin virtuoso Nikolaus Bruhns, pupil of Buxtehude, further, by Nikolaus Strungk and Johann Jacob Walther; they were not, therefore, unheard of requirements which Bach made, but the manner of employing them was new. For the cello also, Bach wrote 6 exactly similar works without accompaniment, 3 Sonatas and 3 *Partien*. It is not to be assumed that Bach was as much a virtuoso player on the cello as he was on the violin. On the other hand, it is proved that he had a particular preference for playing the viola. He himself even invented a particular kind of viola, the *viola pomposa*, a mixture of the viola and cello, with 5 strings, tuned C G d a e', but held like the violin. The six works mentioned are *ad libitum* for this instrument.

The suite form of composition is a German invention. Even at the beginning of the 17th century, German com-

posers arranged foreign dance-forms. The Thirty Years' War may then very well have made it still better known, but artistic musicians first of all introduced such series of national dances; the German clavier composers conceived the form, and Italian violinists transferred it to the violin. Thus soon arose generally the series: *Allemande*, *Courante*, *Sarabande*, *Gigue*, the first a German dance of grave character, the second a showy French one, the third Spanish (with *grandezza*), the fourth a brisk English dance; the French introduced some more new dances: — the *Gavotte*, *Minuet*, *Rigaudon*, *Passepied*, *Bourrée;* the Italian *Ciacona (Chaconne)* also appeared. The oldest combination of all was the *Paduane (Pavane)* followed by a *Gagliarde.* In the order, the object in view was a change of time and tempo, but not of key.

The form of the Bach sonata was not yet that which we now understand by sonata, but it comes nearer to it, certainly, than the Gabrieli sonata, which had but a single movement, and in short, as already said, did not differ from *toccate*, *canzone* or a fantasia. This old form of sonata continued to the end of the 17th century; but, at that time, as chamber music began to develop, there arose, in Italy, a form in two movements, for a solo violin with *basso* or *cembalo*, which was extended by Corelli to one in four movements. A short introductory *Adagio* was immediately followed by an *Allegro.* The order of the series of movements is therefore about in accordance with the present sonata, but not so, on the other hand, the thematic order within the separate movements. The form of the separate movements of the sonata, *i. e.*, the opposing of a *cantabile* to an *allegro* theme, is derived from Domenico Scarlatti, Bach's contemporary, and was improved by Philip Emanuel Bach, and finally brought to perfection by Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven. The Bach sonatas agree in form with those of Corelli. This form of sonata does not exclude dances, yet never consists of dances only, but has always at least a prelude.

Bach further wrote in Cöthen, unless indeed already at Weimar, 6 Sonatas for Violin and Clavier, 3 for *Viola da gamba* and Clavier, and 3 for Flute and Clavier. All these compositions differ essentially from the Italian ones, owing to the polyphonic part-writing and solid development. Moreover, these particular works come very near

to the Beethoven sonata, since they appear as a blending of the Italian aria with the fugal chamber style. Only the second subject is wanting. The development, on the contrary, is there as the fugal treatment of material from the arioso-like first part. The repetition of the theme also takes place.

To the Cöthen period belong also some Sonatas for the flute with a *cembalo* accompaniment, not *obligato*. For this *genre* Bach had little partiality; in fact it is not a fully matured artistic *genre*, as the *cembalo* does not take the part of a perfectly independent factor. Trios also, for two instruments with thorough-bass, Bach wrote; they belong to the same category, and were not favourites with him.

On the other hand, he devoted himself with especial interest to the concerto. In his concertos, several instruments generally take part together. A *tutti* theme enters in contrast to an independent solo theme, and the treatment of the two and their interchange, is the interesting course of such a concerto. These concertos are scarcely ever played now, although they are of the highest musical value. To be sure, one can still hear the concerto for 2 violins.

At the request of a Prussian prince, the Margrave Ludwig of Brandenburg, provost of the *Dom* (cathedral) of Halberstadt, Bach composed 6 Concertos *avec plusieurs instruments*, which are known under the name of the Brandenburg concertos. The form of these concertos is now obsolete and forgotten, which, naturally, does not detract from their musical value.

Bach was not always to remain at Cöthen; and it would indeed have been a pity for the development of art had it been otherwise, as we can now fairly well understand. For Bach was essentially a church composer, and required, for the full development of his powers, to be in a position which did not oblige him to direct his chief interest to chamber music. An exterior reason for leaving Cöthen presented itself when the Prince of Anhalt-Cöthen married Henriette Friederike, Princess of Anhalt-Pernburg. This lady was not kindly disposed to music, and therefore caused a gradual cooling of the lively interest of the Prince in music. Bach now began to reflect that he was destined for something better than the chamber musician of an amateur prince, and applied

for the post of cantor at St. Thomas' church, Leipzig, which had fallen vacant by the death of Kuhnau. Although in the meantime the musically hostile princess died, Bach adhered to his resolution, and left Cöthen in May, 1723.

Bach's predecessor in the office of cantor at St. Thomas', Johann Kuhnau, was the first who wrote Clavier-sonatas, he having introduced for the clavier the violin form of sonata with several movements, which arose in Italy. Mattheson praises him as a matchless organist, profoundly erudite man, composer and choir-leader. In 1684, when already organist at St. Thomas' church, Kuhnau studied jurisprudence at Leipzig, and became later not only music-director at the University and at the *Nikolaikirche* and cantor at St. Thomas' school, but an advocate besides. The position of town-cantor at Leipzig, was already greatly considered and in request in the 17th century; even at the beginning of the century, a man of the very highest consideration had occupied it, Sethus Calvisius. It is not astonishing therefore, that even then the filling up of the place was not proceeded with hastily, but that it was first carefully considered who was worthy to occupy it, so that men of eminent ability were always chosen for it. After the death of Kuhnau (June 1722), the first person thought of was G. Ph. Telemann, who was then director of the Hamburg opera and cantor at the *Johanneum*, also held in great consideration as a composer. We have already met with him once on Bach's path, namely, on the occasion of the filling up of the post of music-director at Weimar after the death of Drese. Telemann was music-director at Eisenach till 1711, and it was intended to draw him then permanently to Weimar, but Telemann declined, and rather went to Frankfort on the Maine in 1712, whence in 1721 he was called to Hamburg. He also declined the post at Leipzig, because he was offered a considerably higher salary at Hamburg. An idea of the productiveness of this man, who lived to the age of 86, may be given by the enumera ion that he left behind 12 complete yearly courses of Church Cantatas, 44 Passions, 40 Operas and 600 complete Overtures. Telemann began his career as cantor at the New Church, Leipzig, which may have been one cause of the wish to obtain him there. At the present day, Telemann is as good as forgotten, whilst Bach, who

had as little chance as Handel of promotion beside Telemann, rises more and more in the estimation of posterity. After Telemann had withdrawn, Bach had little difficulty in discomfiting the other competitors, of whom we do not now know much beyond the names. On May 7th, 1723, Bach played on trial, and on May 30th had already entered on his new post at the *Nikolaikirche* with his first church music. Thus, as far as external position is concerned, he had reached the end of his course, for in the position of Leipzig town-cantor he died at the age of 66 years.

We know, from a personal representation by Bach to the town-council of Leipzig (1730), that the *Thomanerchor* showed then only 17 capable singers, moreover, 20 "who must first still further improve themselves that they might in time be of service in the *cantus figuralis*" and 17 incapable ones. According to his estimate, for properly constituted church music, there are required 36 singers and 20 instrumentalists; instead of 20 instrumentalists, he had only 8 at his disposal, viz., 4 Town-pipers *(Stadtpfeifer)*, 2 Violinists *(Kunstgeiger)* and 1 Assistant, "of whose qualifications, discretion forbade him to say anything in accordance with truth; but it is to be considered that they were partly *emeriti*, partly also not in such *exercitio* as they ought to be". As there was no *conservatorium* then, Bach found himself compelled to employ pupils of the *Thomasschule* in his orchestra. His predecessors, Kuhnau and Schelle, had already also done this, but under better circumstances, as the council had salaries set apart for students who might be employed as vocalists or instrumentalists; but these scholarships they had meantime withdrawn, and Bach was thrown entirely on the goodwill of the students. But he appears to have known how to rouse their interest, for we are informed respecting the year 1736, that besides the regular church music, two concerts were held every week, one of which Bach conducted himself, viz., on Friday evenings, 8—10 o'clock, at the *Zimmermann* Coffee-house in the *Katherinenstrasse*, the other being held on Thursdays, 8—10 o'clock, in the *Schelhafer Saal* in the *Klostergasse* by Görner, organist of the *Nikolaikirche*. Indeed, during fair-time, each master gave two such concerts.

Of the outward events of Bach's life, it only remains to relate the journey to Potsdam, in the year 1747, at the

invitation of Frederick the Great. Bach's second son, Philipp Emanuel, had been chamber musician to this monarch since 1738, while the latter was still Crown Prince and lived at the *Schloss* Reinsberg; Frederick, now the King, repeatedly expressed to Bach's son a wish to become acquainted with his father, a wish which, in 1747, Bach at length gratified. The King received him with entire courtesy, and in the end even gave him a subject for a fugue to be played at once extempore. Bach accomplished his task to the universal satisfaction, and even played another extempore fugue in six real parts. The subject given him by the King, he arranged later, after his return, in a very elaborate manner in free fancy in several different kinds of canons, in a two-part and six-part fugue, and finally in a three-part sonata for flute, violin and double-bass, in consideration, of course, of Frederick the Great's affection for the flute; he dedicated the work to the King the same year with the title of *Musikalisches Opfer*.

Soon after this, developed the fatal disease of the eyes which was destined to destroy not only his sight, but his general health also. It is supposed that the close work at the copperplate engraving of his compositions brought on the malady; however, he did not grow blind directly in consequence of the disease; at least, complete blindness would probably have been somewhat delayed. It took place in consequence of a doubly unsuccessful operation by a very famous English oculist staying at the time in Leipzig. Since, as often happens, the operation was prepared for and supported by means of strong medicines, Bach, besides total blindness, had also to endure general bodily sickness, to which July 28, 1750, at 8.15 p. m. he succumbed. His second wife survived him; she had borne him six sons and seven daughters, so that if all had been living Bach would have left 20 children behind him, viz., 9 daughters and 11 sons, but a great number of them had been carried away by an earlier death, so that only six sons and four daughters survived their father.

Bach's last work was the *Art of Fugue*, a series of fugues developed from the same subject, which, to be sure, are not all fugues in the ordinary sense, as the Answer and Subject do not always stand in the relationship of

simple imitation, but also in that of inversion, lengthening and other forms of canon. The work is unfinished; approaching blindness put a stop to his work. Appended to it, in place of the concluding number, in which Bach had intended to present what was most complicated and involved in canonical art, there is a chorale, "*Wann wir in höchsten Nöten sein*", which he dictated during his blindness to his son-in-law Altnikol, organist at Naumburg. Thus this active, fruitful life came to a sad and sorrowful end. Altogether incalculable is the wealth of musical treasures which Bach has bequeathed to us. The number of Organ compositions, Chamber-music, Cantatas, is enormous, and to these must be added as a mighty giant the B minor Mass and 3 Passions. It is known that a Bach-society with head quarters in Leipzig is publishing Bach's complete works; ever since 1851 this society has been giving out a large folio volume every year, and has not yet come to an end. How many of Bach's works are lost we cannot, at the present time, estimate. Thus, for instance, Forkel, who had personal intercourse with Philipp Emanuel Bach, and certainly received trustworthy information from him concerning J. Seb. Bach, relates that Bach wrote 5 Passions. We, however, only know three now, viz., that according to the evangelist St. Matthew, that according to St. John and that according to St. Luke. From this it appears that we have to regret the loss of 2 Passions. It is true, that, as counterproof, the assertion of Rochlitz is quoted, viz., that when a pupil of the *Thomasschule* under Doles, who was cantor at St. Thomas' church from 1756 to 1789, he had only made acquaintance with 3 Passions by Bach. But this is surely no proof that Bach had not written more, but merely that only three were still performed. Perhaps the other two were earlier works of Bach's, first attempts at the greatest form of church composition, to which subsequently he no longer attached great value. In any case Forkel's account is the weightier.

If we cast a general retrospective glance at the life and work of Bach, we cannot but wonder at the greatness and universality of his genius, which, saving stage compositions, from which with one exception, a dramatic cantata (*"Die Wahl des Herkules"*) Bach entirely held aloof, commanded all fields with equal ease, and exhibits musical art in

a profundity, which, not only for his own time, but for all time must serve as a model. Whether we regard the smallest pianoforte pieces, merely sketched as it were, like the two-part Inventions, or his greatest giant work, his Passion according to St. Matthew, and his B minor Mass, everywhere we meet with the same complete perfection of the noblest style, the clearest harmony, strict logical and finely chosen modulation, living pulsation of richly varied rhythm. But Bach is not the actual representative of the new style which developed from 1600 (Handel is so in a much greater degree), he rather unites in himself, the perfect blending of the styles of both epochs, of the old one of strict polyphony, and the new one of harmony and accompanied melody. He succeeded in resolving harmony into polyphony, or conversely, the strict logical connection of polyphonically treated parts into harmony, with a completeness not since attained, at the same time reaching the highest ideal of development, that of the complete melody crowning the whole in grand imposing features. Bach will consequently always be one of the masters whose study is of the very highest value to the disciples of art, an inexhaustible well, from which many generations will draw fresh vitality.

164. In what domains does the immortal merit of Handel lie?

Handel is as it were the complement of Bach. Although, as an instrumental composer, he has created works which hold an equal rank with those of Bach, especially his 12 Concertos for bowed instruments, the 20 Organ Concertos and the *6 Concerti grossi* (the oboe concertos), still, even in the works which necessarily were akin in style to Bach's instrumental works, the radical difference between Handel's nature and Bach's, is manifest, which may perhaps be thus concisely and precisely defined, — that Handel's music was more objective, representative, while Bach's, apart from the dramatic portions of his passions and kindred works, appears to be purely subjective. There is scarcely anything more preposterous, or that more distorts the truth, than the opinion, here and there expressed by great thinkers even, that Bach's music is of a more formal nature, i. e. that it is architecture in music. On the contrary, in Bach's art, there is revealed the real foundation of music, a living outflow of feeling, revelation

in the most perfect manner of the soul's secret life in its finest gradations of emotion inexpressible in words; and, if it was reserved for a later generation to find expression in it for the most violent excitement of passion, to give utterance in it to feelings that had been stirred to their deepest depths, and thus, in the reconciling, purifying strength of art, to find a balm for the ills of modern humanity, for the *Weltschmerz*, then the older art, whose ideal was to prefer a quiet style, is not less to be esteemed. So the subjective music of Bach, like that of Haydn and Mozart, speaks to us no less impressively in not revealing the dark side of emotion, but casts rays of the peace which dwelt in the soul of the master on the unquiet hearts of succeeding generations. Handel's art is pre-eminently objective, not only where he expressly intends to represent, to call forth by magic a picture externally presented to us, but also in instrumental music, to which the contemplative mystical is less appropriate than the intuitively drastic. The quiet life of Bach, in a provincial town, bound almost throughout to the church, constrained to serious contemplation, in contrast to the life of Handel, hurrying through the European world, developing amid the splendour of the courts of princes and the noisy pursuits of public opera houses and concert halls, gives us the key, in part, certainly, to the opposite character of the two; nevertheless, it would be an error to refer the one entirely to the other. Much rather is the individuality of each so pronounced that one may say that Bach was obliged to stay in the very narrow circle of his home (Thuringia, Saxony) while Handel was obliged to go out, and went out as quickly as he could.

In Handel's case, we cannot, as in that of Bach, point to a long exercise of the musical art in his family during past centuries; solitary and alone, Georg Friedrich Händel appears, in a family that had produced no musicians besides, who seem indeed to have been rather disinclined to music. The only musician of the name of Händel — Jacob Händel, Hähnel or Hähndel, known under the Latinized name of Gallus, died 1591 as Imperial music-director at Prague — was not related to George Frederick Handel.

Handel was a countrymen of Bach's — not only as regards the great motherland, Germany, the cradles, rather, of the two were not very far apart, it is only a few (Ger-

man) miles from the birth-place of the one to that of the other, and the picture forcibly presents itself, of two great rivers rising on a mountain-peak, and running down, one on this side, the other on that side of the mountain to the plain below, to empty themselves finally in two far distant seas.

Georg Friedrich Händel was born at Halle on the Saale, 23 February 1685, or not quite four weeks before J. S. Bach. Handel's father was a *chirurgus* i. e. a barber, but he had risen to the title of *Kammerdiener* and *Leibchirurgus* to the Prince of Saxony and to the Elector of Brandenburg. Handel's mother was the daughter of the clergyman Taust, of Gebichenstein, her grandfather had already been a preacher, and her grandmother also descended from the family of a minister, viz., the family of Olearius. She was already 32 years of age at the time of her marriage with the *chirurgus* Handel of 63, whose first wife, the widow of a barber, had died a year before.

Little Georg Friedrich at a very early age already showed musical talent, and such a passionate impulse towards music, that his father thought he ought to oppose it, and forbade him to make music. On a journey to Weissenfels, the boy, about 8 years of age, drew great attention, and the fatherly prohibition of music-making was withdrawn. The Prince of Weissenfels persuaded his father not to oppose his son's inclination to music any further, but to think about giving him a good education. Returned to Halle, Handel's father sought out the organist of the *Liebfrauenkirche* at Halle, Friedr. Wilh. Zachau, and gave him charge of his son's musical education. But the boy's general education took its regular course, and he passed through all the classes at the Grammar school.

Compositions from Handel's childhood, we have none. On the other hand, the very advanced skill which he already displayed, on the occasion of a visit to Berlin in 1696, when he was only about 12 years of age, proves that Zachau must have been an excellent teacher. A friend of Handel's father introduced him at court, where at that time the Italians stood in high esteem, and where there was a court orchestra with Italian musicians, in which Attilio Ariosti and Giovanni Bononcini, the former as a pianist and the latter as a composer, especially distinguished

themselves. Ariosti became very fond of the boy Handel, and often got him to play to him, when he gave him many a hint. Bononcini, on the contrary, ignored him at first, as he did not like infant prodigies, and finally sought to puzzle him with a difficult task in thorough-bass playing (a chromatic cantata), but Handel acquitted himself of his task cleverly beyond all expectation, and forced Bononcini to the acknowledgment, although a certain coldness in the latter's behaviour never disappeared. Later, when Handel stood at the height of his artistic career, he had still, for many years, to struggle against this same Bononcini as a rival.

The result of the Berlin journey was an offer from the Elector, afterwards King Frederick I., that he would be willing to send the boy to Italy and have him educated there; Handel's father did not, however, accede to this offer, to the advantage, certainly, of Handel, as the latter would otherwise have been under the necessity of entering a dependent position early, and might even have had to become a military musician later, as, in 1713, King Frederick William entirely dissolved the court orchestra. But his father's declining was scarcely the result of any foresight of that kind; he was doubtless led thereto rather by his fixed determination that, while receiving musical instruction, his son should also study law. In the following year his father died, in the 75th year of his age (1697). How greatly Handel esteemed his father and his father's will, is evinced by the fact that notwithstanding his rapid progress in music, he still, for five years after his father's death, had his name entered as law-student at the university of his native town. Yet he had not forgotten music, but rather, in the same year, he became organist at the *Schloss* and *Dom* reformed churches, after having often officiated for the former organist there. But it does not appear that much came of the jurisprudence; for after the lapse of a year, he placed the study definitely upon the shelf and went to Hamburg (1703).

Hamburg, at that time, had stood for some 20 years in quite extraordinary musical renown on account of the opera there, the most important in Germany. For, the operatic performances which were got up at different German courts on occasions of special festivity, were only rare occurrences, and intended solely for the court circle, whereas the Hamburg opera was already a public institu-

tion, where anyone, on payment of the entrance fee, could attend the performances. Venice already had such a permanent opera in the year 1638; that in Hamburg was founded by private persons in 1678, and, notwithstanding many deficiencies and impediments, soon attained great celebrity. At first, the clergy zealously opposed the new institution, forbidding the introduction of Bible stories upon the stage, which in the beginning formed a large percentage of the performances, or else attacking the perniciousness of the secular pieces. As for the rest, religious pieces soon disappeared entirely, and from 1692, the stage has belonged to secular matter only.

At the head of the founders of the Hamburg opera, stood the lawyer and town-councillor Gerhard Schott, the soul, really, of the undertaking, further the licentiate Lütjens and the organist at St. Katherine's church, Joh. Ad. Reinken. The first composer who wrote for the Hamburg opera was the music-director Johann Theile, pupil of Heinrich Schütz, who, as already mentioned, had himself studied in Venice at the source of the rising dramatic music. Another Hamburg opera composer was Joh. Wolfg. Franck, whose beautiful settings of Elmenhorst's sacred songs are still often sung. He was really a surgeon, yet a thorough musician, and furnished 14 operas for the Hamburg stage. The famous violin virtuoso Nik. Ad. Strungk also wrote nine operas. Strungk is known through his meeting with Corelli, the most famous Italian violinist of that time. Corelli is reported to have said to him "If I am an archangel *(arcangelo)*, you are an arch-devil *(archidiavolo)*". The names of Förtsch and Conradi may be simply mentioned in passing. In 1693, Johann Siegmund Kusser undertook the post of music-director, and also, for a time, the direction of the opera in place of Schott. From this time the brilliant period of the Hamburg opera properly dates. Kusser was a very capable man, and himself supplied several operas (*Erindo*, *Porus*, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, *Scipio Africanus*, *Jason*, etc.) for the stage, and above all, raised the institution by means of stricter discipline and a better school of singing. Kusser, unfortunately, did not remain long at Hamburg; he was an unusually restless spirit who never remained long anywhere. Previously, he had travelled a good deal, had held the post of music-director at Brunswick and at Wolfenbüttel,

and had then lived six years in intimate friendship with Lully in Paris, and after again leaving Hamburg in 1697, he was music-director at Stuttgart, 1698—1704; then he went to England, and finally, in 1726, died greatly esteemed as music-director in Dublin. His departure from Hamburg did not prove very hard to get over, because a year after his arrival there, an extraordinarily gifted musician and composer had appeared beside him, viz., Reinhardt Keiser, born 1673, in the vicinity of Weissenfels, died 12 Sept. 1739 in Hamburg, an original genius of unusual fertility and melodic wealth, which, however, did not develop further. He wrote in about 40 years nearly 120 operas, mostly for Hamburg, the last of which differs in nothing from the first. He has learned nothing, made no progress, but he is amiable and captivating in his music as he always was personally. Telemann calls Keiser a "*Züchtling der Natur*" (child of nature) that is one of wild growth. His operas became popular not only in Hamburg, but also in the most famous theatres of north and central Germany. What was wanting in Keiser was moral strength; of that sober earnestness which is alone capable of creating the sublimest works of art, not much was to be found in him. His taste went rather with that of the public, continually retrogressing, instead of educating the other and raising it. As another injurious element, is to be added to this the mixed nature of the *opera personæ*, which consisted of persons of both sexes differing very greatly in their degrees of education and in their vocations, since the only question was whether they had voices. We find shoemakers and tailors as men-singers beside Mattheson, and vegetable-dealers and fisherwomen as women-singers. Keiser was not the man to control the unseemly disorder which had developed from this medley of suitable and questionable elements, and, consequently, for the Hamburg opera, especially from 1703, when Keiser became joint-lessee, it became a case of continually sliding further down hill. Just at this time, Handel arrived in Hamburg; it appears, therefore, that the fame of the Hamburg opera was still very great abroad, although in Hamburg one might well have felt that it declined. Handel was then only 18 years of age, but had already developed great self-dependence; he went to Hamburg to no teacher, but betook himself to the town where German opera

flourished that he might be benefited by the stirring musical life. That did not prevent his finding one who felt himself fit to be a father to him, viz., the famous musical author Johann Mattheson (born 1681, died 1764) who well discerned his great talent, and in such a case gladly rendered service. With great self-complacency Mattheson relates, in the *Musikalische Ehrenpforte*, how Handel had come to Hamburg rich in ability and goodwill, and had at once made *his* acquaintance, and he had introduced him to all the organs, and at operas and concerts, and above all in his paternal home where he boarded free. "He composed at that time almost endless cantatas, which had not yet the right form, nor the right taste, although the harmony was perfect, *but he was soon directed into quite another channel by the high school of opera.*" In 1703 Handel again went with Mattheson to Lübeck, where the succession of Dietrich Buxtehude had been offered him. Buxtehude, whom, as already mentioned, on account of his excellent organ-playing and organ composition, Bach visited a little later from Arnstadt for a quarter of a year, now concerned himself personally in procuring a good successor. Handel had no thought of the position, as he would have had to marry the daughter of Buxtehude, no longer very young; it was at that time quite a common thing to give the widow or daughter of an organist, preacher, cantor, as an appendage to the position; the latter was thus "preserved" as it was called.

The first greater work of Handel's in Hamburg was the *Passion oratorio*, according to the 19th chapter of the gospel of St. John (1704), the words by the licentiate Postel, then very famous as a poet. With Bach's passion later, this composition has very little in common, but is kept more in the oratorio style. At the beginning of 1705, Handel's first opera *Almira*, was performed with great success, and in six weeks already, his second followed: — *Nero*, the text of which is said to have surpassed everything in hideousness and shamelessness. Keiser, jealous of Handel, composed both operas after him, and had them performed in place of Handel's, not without a hard struggle first. Handel now withdrew entirely from the stage, neither played the violin, nor accompanied any longer, but gave private lessons only. In 1706, Keiser and his co-lessee became bankrupt, Keiser disappeared

for a time from the horizon of the people of Hamburg. The opera now fell into the hands of a skilful speculator Joh. Heinr. Saurbrey, who aimed at thoroughly draining the public. With this view he organized performances of very inferior artistic importance, but which drew the general public, although the first, "*Der Carneval von Venedig oder der angenehme Betrug*", was performed in a mixture of four languages, — Italian, French, high and low German. Of course he did not dare introduce only such nonsense, but put in performances of good works for connoisseurs. Not having one of Keiser's, he applied to Handel for a new opera; this was so long that it had to be divided, and so made two operas: *Florindo* and *Daphne*. This double opera was performed in January 1708, but had very little success. The score has disappeared. Handel had composed it at the end of 1706, before he left Hamburg; but at the time of its performance, he was already in great esteem in Italy.

Italy was not only the native land of dramatic music, it was also even now after 100 years its most eminent nursery; every larger town had its public singing-stage, indeed every rich man, his private *capella* and opera. It was not surprising, therefore, that Handel, having approached opera composition, should feel a desire to become acquainted with the land which showed a positively stupendous productivity in this department, although the quality must of course often have been that of works produced by the dozen. Moreover, on the occasion of the performance of his *Almira* in Hamburg, Handel had made the acquaintance of a Tuscan prince (Giovanni Gaston de'Medici) who had spoken to him in glowing terms of Italy's music, and represented a journey to Italy as indispensable for his further education.

So then Handel turned his face next towards Florence, only for a very short time certainly, at most three mouths, and then towards Rome, where he stayed from April to July, 1707. Quite at the beginning of his stay, he wrote a church piece to the 13th Psalm, *Dixit Dominus domino meo*. In July of the same year, he returned from Rome to Florence, where he received the warmest welcome and brought an opera, *Rodrigo*, to a performance. The principal part in the opera was sung by the subsequently very famous Vittoria Tesi. Just as music is most active at

Easter in Rome, so it is in Venice at the New Year. Handel therefore went at the New Year to Venice, where his opera Agrippina (likewise with Tesi), probably even the same year, was performed. The applause was extraordinary. Among the audience was Prince Ernst August of Hanover, who had a permanent box at the Venetian opera. So Handel became acquainted with the Prince himself as well as with distinguished Hanoverians and Englishmen of his suite, who pressingly invited him to Hanover and London. From March to June, 1708, he again stayed in Rome, this time in a more prominent position than in the previous year, as he frequented the Academy of the Arcadian Shepherds, residing with the most eminent of them, Marchese Ruspoli, afterwards Prince of Cerveteri, and therefore moved in the most distinguished company imaginable. For, among the members of the Arcadia were the Pope, all the cardinals, most of the Italian princes, the highest clerical and lay officials, and the most eminent artists and learned men. A regular member, Handel could not become, as he was not yet 24 years of age. Another famous house in Rome was that of Cardinal Ottoboni, a patron of art on a munificent scale, nephew of Pope Alexander VIII. who died in 1691.

In Rome there was no opportunity of getting operas performed, as Pope Clement XI. (1700—1721), frightened by an earthquake in 1704, had closed the theatres. Handel therefore wrote two oratorios, a sacred one, *La Resurrezione*, the persons in the action being, — the Angels, Satan, Mary Magdalene and the disciples, not in Bible phraseology, but free composition; the other oratorio is called *Il trionfo del tempo e del disinganno*, and is entirely allegorical, — beauty, pleasure, time, truth appearing as the acting *personæ*. Handel, 30 years later, revised this composition. The former was probably performed at the Arcadia, the latter at Ottoboni's.

Cardinal Ottoboni instituted a contest between Handel and Domenico Scarlatti on the clavier and organ; the two artists presented something so different as pianists, each in his way perfect, Scarlatti more graceful and dexterous, Handel more grand, that the judges could not award the palm to either. On the other hand, Domenico himself bowed in the most amiable manner his acknowledgments before the organ-playing of Handel, he confessed that of

the possibility of such playing he had hitherto had no conception whatever. The two became great friends, and Scarlatti accompanied Handel during his further stay in Italy, which he made, from July 1708 to the autumn of 1709, in Naples. Corelli also, in 1708, had, at the wish of the king, to repair to Naples. Alessandro Scarlatti just at this time resigned his post in Rome, where he had been music-director at *St. Maria Maggiore*, and henceforth worked at the *Conservatorio di S. Onofrio*, Naples; that is, his epoch-making activity as founder of the Neapolitan music-school now began. Handel's compositions in Naples were mostly Cantatas and Chansons, the latter are to be regarded as exercises in the French style, in the former he probably sought to assimilate Scarlatti's manner of writing.

Handel had a nature to which travelling was a positive need. Bach would have shown more reserve, and felt himself repelled; but Handel had the happy gift of finding fresh excitement, so to speak, in every new sphere, and of making use of the most varied impressions to the enriching of his own ability.

In the autumn of 1709, he started on his journey home, but stayed again a short time in Rome, Florence and Venice. In Venice, at the time of the Carneval, 1710, he renewed old acquaintances, and formed new ones with distinguished courtiers, artists and art-patrons from London and Hanover. The English and Hanoverians, owing to the approaching exaltation of the Elector to the English throne, regarded each other as one people. Baron Kielmannsegge and the music-director Steffani took Handel with them to Hanover. Without their intervention he might have pursued his promised and intended journey to London by the most direct route. They knew how to give him a hint that the most correct route to England was by way of Hanover, and that it was as easy as it was advisable for him, by means of an appointment at that court, to insure himself against all accidents. He therefore joined them, and went to Germany first; but he was obliged to give his English friends his word that he would be in London before the year closed. In Hanover he became music-director.

Handel, by his agreement, could not stay long, but soon started on his first journey to London (late in the

autumn of 1710). The fame which had gone before him had proclaimed him a virtuoso, a player of the first order on the harpsichord and organ, and one who, even in Italy itself, had become famous as a composer of Italian opera. England had at that time very good players, even a very famous virtuoso in William Babel, but all before whom Handel played the organ were obliged to lower their sails. Famous composers have always been sparsely sown in England.

Henry Purcell, not then long deceased (1697), besides many Sonatas, Ballads and Odes, had written some highly esteemed Church Compositions, of which the Anthems (Ant-hymns) were especially famous; his achievements, which made an epoch in England, were 35 dramatic musical works, operas one cannot call them, as the spoken dialogue overflowed; they were dramas with musical scenes. In his earliest work of the kind, *Dido and Æneas*, accompanied recitatives appeared, so that this piece may be compared to Monteverde's musical drama. Later, Purcell left out the recitative in favour of spoken dialogue, so that his composition became limited to an introduction, interlude and single musical scenes. His manner of employing the chorus is significant; it takes a lively part in the action, and is interwoven with the solo in a living musical picture. As long as Purcell lived it was he who had the chief care of the English opera, the singers and performers were English, and the language used in the performance was English. Now, after Purcell's death, the Italians gradually entered, for no new works were any longer to be had except Italian ones; *castrati* also, now came to London, they alone being held capable of singing well. Fragments of Italian operas were patched together into a heterogeneous medley, and brought out as a new opera. At first the text connecting it was English, then English disappeared entirely, and one had a genuine Italian opera in London, just as they had in Paris also, in the middle of the century.

This was how music stood in England when Handel arrived in London. The ground was as if prepared for the mighty growth of a foreign musician. An opera of his composition was looked for with impatience. He was introduced at court, and honoured with tokens of favour by Queen Anne. The youthful director of the opera,

then in the Haymarket, Aaron Hill, proposed to Handel, as material for an opera, the episode, since then frequently composed, from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, the love-story of Rinaldo and Armida. The words were written by the Italian Rossi. Within a fortnight the opera *Rinaldo* was ready. Such speed in writing is only conceivable when Handel's method of composition is considered. He did not, for instance, always invent new themes throughout, but willingly used older ones of his own, or even of another's, giving them an entirely new appearance by clever transformation of a rhythmical, harmonic, or melodic nature. Thus, for instance, the famous lament of Almirena in *Rinaldo*, comes from a sarabande, which in Handel's first opera *Almira* is played in the procession of Asia; indeed, Handel even used the air again in the year 1737, in his re-arrangement of his Roman oratorio *Il trionfo del tempo*. The opera had extraordinary success not only in London, but also in Naples and Hamburg. The publisher, Walsh, is said to have made at the time £1500 by the sale of the songs published. The patching together of Italian opera scraps into new operas was now ended in London; the public would no longer listen to anything of the kind. Of course Handel did not excite wonder merely, but envy also and ill-will; but the sparrows could not reach the eagle, and Handel himself smiled at the outcry in the newspapers.

After a few weeks Handel left London to enter upon his appointment in Hanover; that he would soon return was taken for granted. Moreover, he by no means met with bad company in Hanover. In the first place, his predecessor in the post of music-director, Agostino Steffani, must be mentioned, a very remarkable man, born 1655 in Venetian territory, therefore an Italian and 30 years older than Handel, at first a discantist at St. Marco, but a pupil of Bernabei of Munich, in 1681 director of the chamber music at the Electoral court of Bavaria. On the occasion of a wedding festival at Munich, at which Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover was present, and which took place in 1685, consequently in the year of Handel's birth, an opera by Steffani was performed, and his appointment as Hanoverian music-director followed. In Hanover, soon afterwards, an opera-house was built, whereas hitherto operas had been performed in the small French theatre

and ballet-house. Steffani brought a number of his own compositions to a hearing in this house. As a composer he was anything but unimportant; his *Kammerduette*, his *Stabat Mater* have perfect vitality still. But the gifted Steffani had a career as diplomatist also, was appointed *Envoyé extraordinaire*, indeed, in 1696, the Pope nominated him Bishop of Spiga *(in partibus)* but he nevertheless retained his position of music-director, and only resigned it when he had made the acquaintance of Handel and chosen him as his successor. As a musical writer, Steffani is also known; he wrote several works on music. He died in 1730 at Frankfort on the Maine.

According to Mainwaring, Handel at once received a salary of 1500 crowns, or 7500 marks, but if he had only 3000 marks, as Chrysander thinks, it would still be a very different salary from what Bach had at the time; Bach was then organist and music-director at the court of Weimar with 200 florins, a short time before he had 73 thalers and a few *groschen.* The immense difference in the conditions of life, in the whole development of the two masters, is found again in their pecuniary circumstances. In Hanover, Handel composed a great number of Chamber duets, which, probably through Steffani, became special favourites at court, namely, two-part songs, not dramatic duets with alternating solo passages, such as came into vogue at that time through the Neapolitan school. Besides these, he wrote several Oboe Concertos, induced, certainly, by the fact that there were then such good oboe players in Hanover. He wrote no opera there, because since the death of Duke Ernest Augustus in 1698, the opera had been closed. The Hanoverian opera, therefore, throughout the short time of its existence had performed only pieces by Steffani. In the autumn of 1712, Handel requested leave to make a second journey to London, which he received for an indefinite period, with advice "to return again after the lapse of a reasonable time".

Once more in the course of a few weeks, Handel, with Rossi as librettist, produced an opera, *Il pastor fido*, which, however, had only moderate success, owing especially to the tedious subject. Two months later, followed *Theseus* (text by Haym). Nevertheless, opera composition did not just now occupy the centre exactly of Handel's interest. The approaching conclusion of peace offered an

opportunity for a composition, which might add glory to the peace celebrations. To be sure, there was the question whether the composition of a foreigner could be accepted for such an occasion. But Handel, without troubling about this, in the first place composed the work, namely an English *Te Deum.* And to dispose the Queen in his favour, he wrote a congratulatory cantata for her birthday; the result of which was that the Queen herself commissioned him to furnish the composition for the peace celebrations, a *Te Deum* with a *jubilate.* It is probably no accident that this composition of the Utrecht *Te Deum* is, in its whole style, very similar to a composition of the same text by Purcell. Handel knew well that a leaning to Purcell would do him more good than harm in English ears and hearts. The success was complete. The Queen settled a yearly income of £200 on Handel, without on that account drawing him away from Hanover. But that was not in the least necessary, for Handel was already on bad terms with the Elector through composing the Te Deum for Queen Anne, as the relationship between the Queen and her legal successor was very highly strained. When Queen Anne died in the following year (1714) and the Elector George became her successor, he ignored Handel at first. But an old friend knew the advice to give. Baron Kielmannsegge, the same who had brought him from Venice to Hanover, persuaded Handel to write a kind of Serenade, which was performed on the occasion of a trip made by the King on the Thames in the Summer of 1715. The King inquired concerning the composer, and there was an end to the strife. Handel now received £400 salary, and a few years later a further £200 from the Princess Caroline, whom he taught, so that he now had the, for that time, very considerable income of £600 (12,000 Marks).

In 1716, Handel went with the King for a few months to Hanover; during this time he wrote his last German work, a Passion set to a poem by Berthold Heinrich Brockes, which had already been set to music by Keiser and Telemann. Handel thus took an innocent revenge on Keiser, who had copied Handel in writing operas to *Almira* and *Nero* and taken Handel's operas out of the repertoire. Handel's Passion of course threw Keiser's into oblivion. Upon his return to London, Handel received

from the rich and ostentatious, prodigal Duke of Chandos, who lived like a sovereign prince at Cannons, about 2 German (or nearly 10 English) miles from London, an invitation to live with him, compose for him, and have his pieces performed in his music-rooms. Handel accepted the invitation, and wrote, at Cannons, 12 anthems or compositions resembling motets and cantatas; the anthem, as Purcell and Handel developed it, is based on pure Bible language like the motet, but the manner of composition with choruses and soli is similar to the cantata. The words are throughout taken from the Psalms. After Handel's death, these 12 anthems were made up into an oratorio, *Omnipotence.*

The composition of the first larger sacred oratorio, *Esther*, also falls in the time of his stay at Cannons, where he likewise wrote the secular oratorio *Acis and Galatea*, an English rearrangement of the work already composed at Naples, 1710.

In the winter of 1718—19, a grand enterprise was conceived in court circles, and soon made a fact, namely, the foundation of the so-called Opera Academy. Handel was commissioned to seek new talent, and for that purpose went first to Düsseldorf and thence to Dresden. In Dresden in the autumn of 1719, the marriage of the electoral Prince with the Archduchess Maria Josepha of Austria took place, which means, that a number of musicians were thus drawn together there to do honour to the ceremony. Handel, therefore, needed only to apply there, privately of course, for it would have been taken very ill had he drawn talent away to distant engagements. He fulfilled his mission satisfactorily, and thereby created for London, where the opera had lain some time dormant, a new opera with an excellent company. The first opera performed in 1720, was not Handel's but Giovanni Porta's, and was called *Numitore.* But the second, on the contrary, was one of Handel's, namely *Radamisto.* It would be too long to relate the history of this London Opera Academy fully, it may suffice to point out particularly the part Handel had in it. In 1721, he supplied the two operas *Mucio Scevola* and *Floridante*, in 1723 *Ottone* and *Flavio*, 1724 *Giulio Cesare* and *Tamerlano*, in 1725 *Rodelinda*, 1726, *Scipione* and *Alessandro*, 1727 *Admeto*, *Ricardo I*, in 1728 *Siroe*, *Tolemeo.* These operas made

the tour of Europe; they were performed in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, and itinerant Italian companies had them in their repertoire, indeed, even France, which was so proud of her Lully, did not entirely exclude them.

Next to Handel it was chiefly Giov. Battista Bononcini who furnished operas for the Academy. Bononcini's successes were by no means small, nor was his music at all bad. Besides this, there was a strong party in London averse to Handel because he was a German. For the accession of a German prince to the English throne, had naturally brought many German courtiers to England, and excited much opposition from the English nobles, quite apart from the discontented party who, previous to the accession of King George, had planned the restoration of the Stuarts. It was in the house of Marlborough especially that this opposition concentrated, and that Bononcini was extolled against Handel. But Bononcini's fame came to a pitiful end. Previously even, before complete ruin came, his operas had continually decreased in success. But suddenly his presence in London became impossible, for he had presented to the Academy of Ancient Music a madrigal derived from Antonio Lotti (born about 1667, died 1740 in Venice), one of the best Italian opera and motet composers of that time, as composed by himself, but which was exposed and publicly censured (1728). A single church composition of Handel's falls in this time, namely the so-called Coronation Anthem, composed in 1727, at the coronation of George II. the son and successor of king George I.

In 1728 the Opera Academy was dissolved, owing to pecuniary failure. A very clever satire, the so-called Beggar's Opera by Gay, had succeeded in rendering the whole Italian opera ridiculous to the public, so that it was no longer an attraction. The company (a joint-stock company under Royal patronage) dissolved itself, but the theatrical property together with the opera-house were bought by Heidegger, who had hitherto been technical director, and he retained the name. The idea previously entertained, that solid advantage could arise from the enterprise, had been given up. The contributions which now followed were a kind of subscription. Heidegger induced Handel to join him, in order to engage new talent. This time Handel went to Italy. On this second Italian journey (1728)

Steffani, at the age of 74, accompanied him. In Italy he made the acquaintance of the new Scarlatti music-school in its full development in the works of Porpora, da Vinci, Pergolesi, Hasse, Durante, Leo, whose partiality for the gallant style did not escape him, and appeared to him as a falling-off.

At the end of September 1729, Handel, with his newly engaged *personnel*, arrived in London again; the representations began with a new opera by Handel, *Lotario*, 1730 *Partenope* followed, in 1731 *Poro* and *Ezio*, in 1732 *Sosarme* and *Orlando*. Handel was sole director; it must therefore be acknowledged as a sign of his noble mind, that he also produced an opera by Bononcini.

In 1732 this second academy was also at an end. Meanwhile Handel's first oratorios began to excite attention, namely, in 1732, *Acis and Galatea* and *Esther*, the two written at Cannons remodelled, and, about 1733, a new one, *Deborah*, which, however, in consequence of complications in home politics was sung to an empty house. The higher price fixed for admission provoked comparison with the new taxes, and so Handel's name was mentioned with the Minister Walpole's, and became the subject of violent pamphlets. A lucky incident cleared the unpleasant affair out of the way. Handel was requested to honour the annual Commemoration at the University of Oxford with performances of his works. The new vice-chancellor or rector, Dr Holmes, had endeavoured to establish a better relationship with the government; Oxford had been the chief seat of the Jacobites, and therefore of hostile mood to the House of Hanover. That was to improve. It was also intended to give Handel the title of Dr, but this he declined. Handel had *Acis and Galatea*, *Esther*, *Deborah*, the *Te Deum* and *Jubilate* performed at the Peace of Utrecht, and an entirely new oratorio, *Athalia*; but the fee of five shillings for admission again created great dissatisfaction; nevertheless, the success was very great.

In 1734, for the marriage of the Princess Anne, his pupil, with the Prince of Orange, Handel produced a secular oratorio at the Haymarket, some of the themes in which are borrowed from Athalia. A wedding anthem also, Handel wrote for the same occasion, which was sung during the marriage ceremony.

The chief singer at the Heidegger-Handel Academy

was the *castrato* Senesino. To this latter it was very inconvenient to take part in Handel's oratorio and have to sing in English. The result was that Handel showed him the door; *i. e.* he was dismissed. But this proved ominous for Heidegger and Handel, as several other singers of talent followed Senesino, and consequently, in the year 1733, a second Italian theatre was formed with the chiefs who were already very popular, and who were favoured, naturally, by the opposition which met Handel from many quarters. As composer for the opera, and as director of the same, first Porpora, and afterwards Hasse was chosen, Italians therefore of the Scarlatti school. Handel had then to obtain new talent, for which he went again to Italy. He was before the rival institute in opening that under his own and Heidegger's lead, but with Neapolitan operas. In 1734, he produced a new opera of his own, *Ariadne*, and also the remodelled *Pastor fido* of the year 1712. But at the end of the season, he separated from Heidegger, who now let his theatre to his rivals, while Handel joined the leader of Covent Garden theatre, Rich, who had previously, through the performance of the Beggar's Opera, proved so fatal to the first academy. In 1734, he again produced two operas, *Terpsichore* and *Ariodante*, and in 1735, the *Alcina*, in 1736 *Atalanta*, *Giustino*, *Arminio*, in 1737 *Berenice*, and during Lent in 1737, he produced his oratorio *Esther*, and the Roman one, *Il trionfo del tempo e della verità*, in a revised form, as well as *Alexander's Feast.* According to all this, Handel displayed at this time a feverish activity, and for the simple reason, indeed, that he had entered upon costly enterprises; the representations were at his expense, he had hired the theatre, in short, his financial circumstances were becoming embarrasing.

In consequence of this excessive exertion he was seized with paralysis, which lamed his right side, and also transiently disturbed his intellect. He was compelled to dismiss his singers on half payment, and feeling completely broken down, he went to Aix-la-Chapelle to seek recovery in the warm baths there. The success was astonishing, — to say the least, Handel is said to have exacted the impossible from his physical strength, and to have taken the strongest vapour baths at only a few hours' interval. After his return Queen Caroline died, and he wrote a deeply impressive Funeral Anthem. Meanwhile, also, the rival Italian opera

had suffered shipwreck. Heidegger, the indefatigable, collected the remains of both enterprises, and so in the autumn of 1737 was again able to open the opera, and with two new operas by Handel, *Faramondo* and *Serse*, for which he paid Handel £1000. With this Handel could at least cancel a few debts. The following year Heidegger gave no performances, but paid back the subscriptions as the number of subscribers was insufficent. From 1739—1740, Handel organized some performances without a regular company, doing the best he could with the talent immediately available; for these he furnished the operas *Jupiter in Argo*, *Imeneo* and *Deidamia*. And the oratorios, — *Saul*, *Israel in Egypt* and *L'allegro, il pensieroso ed il moderato*, belong to this time. Also the greater part of Handel's instrumental works were written before 1740. From 1741, dates finally the unreserved acknowledgment of Handel's genius after he had been only so shortly before again thrown back by misfortune; this year, in 24 days, he wrote his *Messiah* and produced it for the first time in Dublin. In 1742, he also gained a decided success with it in London; from 1749, he had it performed every year for the benefit of the Foundling Hospital (with 28 performances, he brought this over £10,000). From this time onward, Handel devoted himself definitely to oratorio composition, in 1742 also followed *Samson*, in 1743 *Semele*, 1744 *Heracles* and *Belshazzar*, in 1745 the so-called *Occasional Oratorio* (in honour of the victory at Culloden), in 1746 *Judas Maccabeus* and *Joseph*, in 1747 *Joshua* and *Alexander Balus*, in 1748 *Solomon* and *Susanna*, in 1749 *Theodora* and in 1751 *Jephthah*. His greatest masterpieces, therefore, he wrote between the age of 56 and 66 years. In 1571, threatening blindness hindered him in his work; nevertheless, he continued unremittingly giving concerts and playing the organ-part in his oratorios himself. The last concert (Messiah) conducted by him, took place eight days before his death, which followed on the 13th April 1759, in London.

The oratorio is from the beginning a twin-sister of the opera, and is finally to be distinguished from it only through the exclusion of scenic representation and action. That both are to be referred to a common root, is sufficiently clear from the fact that the history of the opera is customarily traced to the point where the absolutely reli-

gious nature of the subject-matter makes the resemblance to the oratorio, and still more to the passion, appear so great that it seems almost bold to take the circumstance that the representatives of individual Biblical personages appear and disappear and perform some symbolic action (*e. g.* presenting the linen cloth at the burial) as the starting point of the newer drama in general and therewith of opera. It is precisely in those mysteries of the 10th or 11th and following centuries that the germ of every dramatic form of the succeeding period is to be sought, a long time even, in this form capable of evolution, and only gradually developing, by the assimilation of secular elements, in another direction as well. At first it was solely the life of Jesus which formed the subject of the mysteries; the Evangelist also came upon the stage and maintained the continuity of the story; the Birth of Christ and adoration of the shepherds, the three Wise Men before Herod and before Mary, the murder of the Bethlehem children, the flight to Egypt, the marriage in Cana, the baptism of Jesus, the whole history of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension, everything was performed in this most primitive manner with scenery and song. Later, the history of Mary was acted separately, the Annunciation, Visitation, Lament for Mary and the Assumption. Indeed, one even went further and presented the lives of different saints, as of St. Dorothy, or the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, etc. Singing and declamation were often mixed, so that the text was sung in Latin and afterwards spoken in German. The representation took place in the market place in the open air, on a stage specially erected which was generally built across the end of a street, and in three stories, the lowest representing hell, the middle one earth, and the highest one heaven. This stage of several stories lasted a long time, indeed, after secular subjects were admitted, and was for instance, the primitive form even in the old English theatres. Tieck again used it in a representation of Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream. It is known that in the Oberammergau Passion Play there survives a fragment of the mediæval mysteries.

By extending the religious plays to the entire contents of the Bible, from the creation of the world onwards, and by admitting the histories of the saints subsequent to Scriptural times, the material is already changed nearly to the

form which the later oratorio assumed in its presentation. What was still missing, was added by the so-called *moralities*, which developed in the 15th century, especially in England and France; and in Italy and Germany, also, they did not remain unknown. In these moralities, virtues and vices appeared as allegorical characters; and even personifications of general moral conditions and qualities were strangely mixed with the personages of sacred history. They unfolded in conversations and symbolic representations, the thoughts of Holy Scripture, and sought by a kind of combat and deliverance, partly to develop scholastic dogmas, partly to present the morality of the Bible in all its relationships to real life. "So this species denotes an evident transition from religious contemplation to moral application" (Devrient). For instance, in the mystery, *The marriage of the soul with Jesus*, appear the Soul, Jesus, the daughter of Zion, Love, Truth, Enlightenment, Righteousness, the Seven Mortal Sins; in other pieces, — Riches, Concupiscence, Avarice, Arrogance, Pride, Beauty, Strength, Knowledge, Confession, Sacrament! The meaning of the representation is a moral thought. We see that just the same material in just the same poetical form is represented here as in the first famous oratorio properly so-called, by Emilio Cavalieri, entitled *La rappresentazione di anima e di corpo. Rappresentazione* is, moreover, the Italian name for a religious drama, synonymous with *storia*, *esempio*, *misterio*. The name of oratorio was obtained by this and similar pieces, from the place where it was performed *(oratorio=prayer-room)*. Such religious performances in this very prayer-room, were first started in the last quarter of the 16th century by Filippo Neri a clever Roman singularist, a priest afterwards canonized. The beginning was made with the *Laudes spirituali* (sacred songs of praise), songs which were composed by Giovanni Animuccia and introduced in religious devotion. Palestrina also, after Animuccia's death, was for a time composer for Neri. These musically-enlivened hours of prayer gradually acquired a more settled form, and were called under Neri himself *Azioni sacre* or oratorios. During Lent, when no secular dramas might be given, Neri brought such oratorios on the stage, so that then, apart, naturally, from the newer manner of composition, the last distinction between them and the old mysteries vanished. Cavalieri's *Rappresenta-*

zione was likewise produced on the stage; the personified ideas sang and danced and even accompanied themselves on instruments. Handel's oratorio composed about 1708 in Rome, and one he remodelled in 1737, *Il trionfo del tempo e del disinganno*, that is, "The triumph of time and of truth", certainly reminds one of the first oratorio by Cavalieri, as well as of the moralities; indeed, it is really a morality itself, inasmuch as beauty, pleasure, time and truth, are the *dramatis personæ*, and the moral fundamental thought, that truth alone endures and time destroys everything earthly, is on an equality with the leading ideas of the moralities of the 15th century. The history of oratorios of this species, therefore, as far as the poetical material is concerned, is clearly enough to be seen. The part of it that has developed further is mainly the musical part. That those oratorios which treat material from sacred history, had their true predecessors only in the religious drama and mystery is obvious. Handel's *Resurrezione* was, of course, nothing else than an Easter drama, but without scenery and not composed to a sacred text, but to rhymed verses. That by far the greater part of Handel's oratorios are taken from Old Testament history can only be designated as a happy choice, when we think how highly dramatical, partly heroic, the Old Testament characters are. For Handel certainly recognized the fact, that the highest perfection of the oratorio form is to be sought in the further development of the dramatic element, but to the exclusion of stage representation, as this could only weaken the religious impression. And the religious impression is precisely an essential factor in oratorio, and all oratorios which dispense with this factor, are indeed inferior to the others in effect. Secular oratorios, such as *Acis and Galatea*, dispense with the stage only with difficulty; and the abstract moral ones, like *The Triumph of Time and Truth*, and that composed subsequently in 1740, likewise the allegorical *L'Allegro, il Pensieroso ed il Moderato*, which personify different dispositions, are, naturally, almost wholly without dramatic effect.

But, for the rest, Handel still wrote a part of his oratorios originally for scenic representation; it was the prohibition of the Bishop of London, Dr. Gibson, not to bring sacred subjects on the stage, that first turned the oratorio into a true concert piece. Had this prohibition

not been made first, the Messiah would perhaps have been impossible, as it is incapable of stage representation. An equally intelligible offshoot of the opera, with Handel's oratorio, is that of the *passion* as we meet with it in its most perfect form in Bach. It denotes a firmer opposition to the secularization of the sacred text, an adherence to the narrative form of the gospel, but without excluding on that account the dramatic element wherever this becomes conspicuous in the narration. The introduction of *dramatis personæ* who are quite outside the action, for instance, the congregation of Zion, the earthly congregation and the believing soul, gives the whole a purely lyric stamp, it is almost more a representation of the impression of the history of the passion upon believing Christians, than a representation of the history of the Passion itself. In this sense Schütz' *Auferstehung des Herrn* belongs rather to the category of Bach's passions and its forerunners, than to Handel's *Resurrezione*. An example may make the distinction quite clear, for in the *Resurrezione* the Resurrection itself is by no means dramatically represented, but the *dramatis personæ* are the angels, Satan, Mary Magdalene and the Disciples; of regularly laid out airs or choruses, there is no question, everything instead, is dramatical dialogue. Handel approaches the form of the passion, rather in his German *Passion-oratorio* (1716); but the composition was to some extent an occasional piece; Keiser had composed the same text, Telemann also; Handel showed them that the text could be turned to much greater account than they had turned it to. The naïve standpoint revealed in these dramatic and, in the treatment, lyric moments was just the dominant one then in Germany. Handel, through his schooling in Italy, abandoned it, and passed to pure dramatic form; whereas Bach had the skill, without changing the form, to render it capable of the highest artistic effect. And Bach's *Weihnachts-oratorium* is therefore something quite different from the Handel oratorio, it is the same form afresh: Biblical treatment and Christian feeling, continually interchanged and closely blended. The Bach passion and the Bach oratorio (unfortunately we have no name by which to designate their nature) are a grand service laid out on too large a scale to be brought within the limits of the ordinary hours of worship; the Handel oratorio, on the contrary, almost

risks turning Biblical characters into opera heroes, and only his solid German piety, which especially built up Handel's choruses to strongly built cathedrals, saves him in the end from too secular a style. Sufficiently significant of this is the transferring of operatic airs to the oratorio, which is quite common in Handel. On the other hand, by the complete exclusion of the subjective element, the imposing grandeur, the objective might of Handel's oratorio is certainly made clear. As oratorios were shut out from the stage, he had, in his last creations, no longer to consider the requirements of scenic representation; never could his choruses have swelled to such proportions as they assume in his last oratorios, had they been parts of a dramatic representation. This broad character, notwithstanding the objectivity maintained throughout, is in fact only explainable in a species of art originally intended for the stage but excluded from it, and which has therefore attained its last improvement beyond the stage. Handel's *Messiah* is in this sense similar to Goethe's Faust, from which, on the other hand, it is sufficiently distinguished by the far greater unity and symmetry of the general character. But just as that grew out of a species of art which required scenic representation, although itself only conditionally, not in its totality, suited to the stage, so it is with the *Messiah* in a still greater degree. But we understand the whole grandeur of the *Messiah* only when we conceive as thoroughly objective those numbers which seem to admit of a similar conception with the subjective numbers in Bach's passion-music. Then indeed this colossal picture of the Messianic poem, beginning with the Old Testament promise, and passing on in grand succession to the Birth, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord, up to the Day of Judgment and the final glory of the New Jerusalem, is of overwhelming grandeur.

165. How did the modern style of accompanied melody develop further, after Bach, in the direction already taken; i. e. how did it fully emancipate itself later from the imitative and concerted forms of writing derived from the flourishing period of vocal polyphony?

Even before J. S. Bach, and in the domain of instrumental music, the transition to the so-called homophonic manner of writing, or galant style, as it was termed, is seen, but especially in the clavier compositions of Fran-

çois Couperin, Domenico Scarlatti and J. Ph. Rameau. The latter (born 1683 at Dijon, died 1764 in Paris), especially famous as a theorist and as an opera composer, was, to be sure, contemporary with Bach. The homophonic composition is to be put entirely on a parallel with the composition for one voice with a simple accompaniment, which flourished after 1600, especially after the recitative setting of the Florentines had developed into the rich, melodious composition of the Neapolitans. To J. S. Bach therefore, this manner of writing was familiar, but he, for his part, despised it, although it cannot be questioned that there are pieces to be found in his suites which come very close to it.

But the next step forwards in the direction indicated, was made by J. S. Bach's second son, Karl Philipp Emanuel, who is very properly regarded as the father of modern instrumental music. Haydn said of him: "He who knows me thoroughly must see that I owe much to Emanuel Bach, that I have understood and diligently studied him; he paid me a compliment also once to that effect" (Griesinger, p. 13). And Mozart said, according to Rochlitz' account at Doles, "He is the father, we are the children. Whoever among us can do anything properly, learned from him, and he who does not admit this is a —. What he does, would not now suffice us, but *how* he does it — there he is without an equal". It is certainly wonderful that precisely the son of the last master of the old school became the founder of the new school; to see how that was possible, one can read from Rochlitz, whose account is perhaps a little coloured, but nevertheless true in the main. Karl Philipp Emanuel (the Berlin or Hamburg Bach, born 14 March, 1714, at Weimar, died 14 December, 1788, in Hamburg) was properly to have studied law, wherefore his father quietly suffered his inclination to turn to the lighter "galant" style. He went to Frankfort on the Oder to study law, but founded a choral society there instead; in 1738, he migrated to Berlin, and in 1740 became cembalist (harpsichord-player) in chamber music to Frederick the Great, who was certainly well versed in music for an amateur, and sometimes greatly annoyed Bach when the latter had to accompany his flute-playing. The Seven Years' War cooled the King's love of music, and Bach consequently begged leave to resign in order to take Telemann's place as music-director at Hamburg. The

number of compositions by Ph. E. Bach is very great, especially for the harpsichord (210 solo pieces, 52 concertos, many sonatas, etc.) but in the domain of church music he was less important, although very prolific (22 passions, many cantatas, 2 oratorios, etc.). It may be further remarked that Emanuel Bach was much more popular than ever his father had been. As a harpsichord-player, in addition to extraordinary technical skill, he distinguished himself by elegance and neatness. He without doubt studied Couperin, as may be inferred from his partiality for embellishments. As is known, P. E. Bach has left behind a work on the right way to play the clavier, which, for the manner of playing the graces of that time, is a very valuable source, but its instructions in fingering are now obsolete. The inventive power of K. Ph. E. Bach cannot of course compare with that of his father.

So then P. E. Bach is followed by Joseph Haydn, at least so far as the development of the clavier sonata is concerned. But in the domain of the orchestral symphony and string quartet, which with him became typical, and, as is known, have been favourite forms of composition almost unchanged up to the present day, he had, on the contrary, a different fore-worker, viz. Giovanni Battista Sammartini of Milan, whom we shall meet with again as the teacher of Gluck. Sammartini, properly San Martini, born 1700, at Milan, was in 1726, already music-director at a monastic church, and organist at several other churches at Milan. Burney found him still living in 1770, and music-director at half the Milan churches; he therefore became pretty aged, and wrote a good deal, especially church music, symphonies, quartets. It appears that he was the first composer of the string quartet, yet this is not fully proved, and there is a possibility that Sammartini only wrote quartets after Haydn had done so. Griesinger, one of the contemporary biographers of Haydn (1810), certainly relates that Haydn in later years had declared Sammartini to be a scribbler and entirely denied having learned anything from him. As we already mentioned, he recognized his intellectual teacher only in Ph. E. Bach. Nevertheless Griesinger also relates, how the violinist Misliweczech at Milan hears quartets by Sammartini, then 70 years of age, and thereupon exclaims, "At last I know the forerunner of Haydn". This proves nothing, since in

the year 1770, when this must have happened, Haydn's first quartet was already 20 years old. Perhaps, therefore, Haydn is after all the creator of this charming species of chamber music. In symphony Sammartini's precedence cannot be doubted, but it is equally impossible to maintain the assertion that he invented the form of the same.

The *Symphony* has perhaps not developed from the sonata, as might be supposed from its form, but from the overture. The overture of Italian opera was certainly called *sinfonia*. The name of overture is of French origin, and at first was only applied to the Lully overtures, which, as we have several times said, introduced an allegro between two slow movements. The Italian opera introduction, the Scarlatti overture or symphony, introduced, conversely, a slow movement between two allegro movements, which even now, as is known, is the usual order of the three chief movements of the symphony. The constantly increasing preference for instrumental music during the 18th century, and the rise of numerous little private orchestas, which had nothing to do with an opera, formed a very natural inducement in the first place to perform the symphonies of operas independently and afterwards to write numerous similarly constructed instrumental pieces directly for concert use. It is not surprising that in this way these symphonies at once increased in extent, that the three movements became perfectly free of one another, while in the opera symphony they were still loosely connected. Symphonies of this kind, therefore, Sammartini wrote in greater number; among Germans the first to cultivate them were the two music-directors Stamitz and Cannabich. The Mannheim *capella*, towards the middle of last century, was in fact what the *Gewandhaus* orchestra was for Germany in the middle of ours — the high school of orchestral playing. Burney says Mannheim was the birthplace of *crescendo* and *diminuendo*, a statement which of course is not to be understood literally, but the Mannheim capella seems to have been first in giving special attention to dynamics. The music-director at that time was the well known Ignaz Holzbauer.

Haydn's merit in regard to symphony, is that he enriched it with another movement, viz., the Minuet, and transferred to it the inner construction of the movements of the sonata and its thematic treatment. The latter is

beyond a doubt, and Haydn is therefore justly called the father of symphony properly so-called. Whether others before him had not also introduced the minuet as the third movement before the finale is not yet finally determined. Certain it is that Haydn gave the minuet its peculiar character, which differs materially from the stiff dance customary at that time. Haydn has turned the minuet into an exercising-ground for humorous ideas; i. e. he thereby created the *Scherzo*, although he did not know the name of scherzo, and always retains the fundamental rhythm of the minuet. It is known, that the scherzo as a perfectly free movement, no longer fettered by being in the same time as the minuet, was incorporated into the symphony by Beethoven.

Franz Joseph Haydn (born at night, before midnight 1st April 1732, at Rohrau on the Leitha, died 31st May 1809 in Vienna) was the second of the twelve children of a carriage-builder of small means, who himself had musical talent; he very early showed an extraordinary gift, and was instructed at first in singing and playing by a cousin, the schoolmaster Frankh at Hainburg, a very strict man. In 1740, the music-director at the *Stephanskirche* and court composer Reutter found the talented boy, endowed with a beautiful soprano voice, and took him with him to Vienna as a choir-boy for the *Stephanskirche*; here, besides instruction in singing, clavier and violin-playing, he received an excellent scholastic education, but, curiously, no theoretical instruction. Only occasionally Reutter bade him come to him, and explained things to him. But the boy composed industriously notwithstanding, and tried to perform difficult tasks. In 1745, his brother Michael was attracted to Vienna, and Joseph was charged to give him rudimentary instruction; as a solo sopranist his brother replaced him perfectly, and Haydn, therefore, as his voice began to break and a convenient opportunity came, was simply dismissed. A few private lessons procured means for the youth, scarcely 18 years of age, to rent an attic, and now he began more industriously than ever to study and compose. For a time he undertook the duties of accompanist to Porpora at his singing lessons, and was treated as though he were a servant; but he received some instruction in composition, and through Porpora became acquainted with Wagenseil, Gluck and Dittersdorf. And now

his compositions began to be circulated, at first, clavier sonatas in manuscript The first inducement to the composition of string quartets, was given him by K. J. von Fürnberg, who organized small musical entertainments at his country-seat Weinzierl. Haydn wrote his first quartet (B♭ major), in 1755. Baron Fürnberg, in 1759, procured him the position of music-director at the private *capella* of Count Morzin at Lukavec near Pilsen, and Haydn, having now 200 florins salary, was able to think of establishing a home of his own; his choice proved very unfortunate, as his wife Maria Anna, daughter of the hair-dresser Keller, in Vienna, was imperious, quarrelsome, bigoted, and had no intelligence whatever for music. For forty years Haydn had to bear the hard yoke of this marriage, and was childless besides (1760—1800). In Lukavec 1759, he wrote his first symphony (D major). Unhappily, the count was obliged to dissolve his *capella;* for some months Haydn was without an appointment, but in 1761, Prince Paul Anton Esterhazy (died 1762) called him as vice-music-director (with G. J. Werner) to Eisenstadt, where the Prince maintained a private *capella* with 16 performers, but which were increased to 30 (without the singers) by Prince Nicolaus Joseph. In 1766, Werner died, and Haydn became sole director, in 1767 the *capella* was removed to the more modern, luxuriously-appointed Schloss Esterhaz on the Neusiedler lake. In Eisenstadt Haydn had bought himself a little house, which was twice burned down, but was rebuilt by the Prince. On the 28th September, 1790 Prince Nicolaus Joseph died, and his son and heir, Prince Anton, dissolved the *capella*, but left Haydn his title of *Capellmeister*, and, to the yearly pension of 1000 florins bequeathed by the deceased, he added a further 400. Haydn sold his house at Eisenstadt and removed to Vienna. He was now a tolerably independent man, as Prince Anton readily accorded him leave of absence, and he therefore, at last, yielded to repeated invitations to London. His two journeys to England (1790—1792 and 1794) are very remarkable in the history of his life, because save on those occasions he was never out of Austria. After the director of the Professional Concerts (W. Cramer) had, in 1787, vainly endeavoured to draw him to London, the violinist Salomon, who gave subscription concerts in London, succeeded personally in persuading Haydn, and took

him at once with him to London (15th December, 1790). Salomon guaranteed Haydn £700, against which Haydn was to engage himself to conduct personally six new symphonies in London. The result justified all expectations. Haydn, to whom extraordinary honour was shown, also made favourable arrangements with his publishers, and felt inclined to enter into another contract with Salomon on still more advantageous terms for 1792; he spent the summer and autumn at the country-seats of English lords who vied with one another in attentions and costly presents, and he did not escape the honour of a doctor's degree at Oxford (8 July 1791); during the ceremony the so-called Oxford Symphony was played. The second season also went brilliantly by. It is to be observed, that the Professional Concerts in 1791, also took a most active part in doing honour to Haydn, performing any already published works of the great master which happened to be available to them, and doing their utmost to surpass the Salomon concerts. But in 1792, Haydn's pupil Ignaz Pleyel (born 1757, near Vienna, died near Paris, 1831) was persuaded to come to London, and was to have competed with Haydn, but the contest did not take place. At the end of June 1792, urged by Prince Esterhazy and his wife, who insisted on buying a house in Vienna, Haydn finally turned upon his journey homewards; in Bonn, where the Electoral band gave him a breakfast, he became acquainted with the youthful Beethoven, who shortly afterwards became his pupil. From Bonn Haydn journeyed to Frankfort, whither his Prince had sent him to the coronation of Franz II., and he returned with the Prince to Vienna at the end of July; there, in the meantime, Haydn's friend Mozart had died (5th December 1791). Beethoven arrived in November 1792, and had the benefit of Haydn's instruction in composition until the second English journey. And now Haydn, who had been so honoured abroad, became loaded with honours in his own country. On the 19th January 1794, again persuaded by Salomon, he entered upon his second journey to London, spent two more concert seasons in the English capital and the intermediate time at country-seats, etc., and returned in August 1795, via Hamburg, Berlin and Dresden, to Vienna. In the meanwhile, count Harrach had caused a monument supporting his bust to be erected at his birthplace, Rohrau. Haydn's

return was, for the rest, hastened by Prince Nicolaus Esterhazy (Prince Paul Anton had died 22nd January, 1794), who had set his *capella* in order again and bestowed the duties of music-director on Haydn. The latter had not yet arrived at the summit of his artistic fame. At the age of 65 years he wrote the *Creation* and the *Seasons*, his two greatest works; both are composed to translations of English poems, the *Creation* to a poem written by Lidley for Handel and taken from Milton's Paradise Lost, and the *Seasons* to the poem of Thomson, both translated by van Swieten. The *Creation* was performed on the 29th and 30th April, 1798, and the *Seasons* 24th April 1801 for the first time (in the palace of Prince Schwarzenberg). Gradually the infirmities of age came upon Haydn; his power of working gave way, and in his last years he could only rarely leave his room. He died a few days after the entry of the French into Vienna; to his mind, true and devoted to his Emperor and fatherland, the hostile occupation was a bitter sorrow.

A characteristic feature of his music is the humour, an innocent gaiety that smiles even through tears. The cruel, the horrible, misanthropic meditation, and other dark pictures of human feeling with which our most modern composers are familiar, we seek vainly in him. The merit is his, further, of having individualized the instruments of the orchestra, and made them speak independently. It is not merely notes, chords, that we hear in his music, but living beings of various character and disposition who hold lively conversation. The number of Haydn's works is very great. A complete edition does not yet exist. Of Symphonies, Haydn wrote no fewer than 125 (including overtures), the first, besides strings, only for 2 oboes and 2 horns; the great English ones for strings, flute, 2 oboes, 2 clarinets, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 2 trumpets and kettle-drums. By special names, the more familiar symphonies are: — *Mit dem Paukenschlag*, The Surprise (1791); *Mit dem Paukenwirbel* (1795); the Oxford Symphony (1788); the *Abschiedssymphonie*, The Farewell symphony (1772); *La Chasse* (1780); the *Kindersymphonie*, Toy Symphony; etc. The instrumental passion, also, *Die sieben Worte am Kreuz*, the Seven Last Words, (written for Madrid), belongs originally to the symphonies (arranged later as a string quartet, and by Michael Haydn as an oratorio); Haydn

himself further reckoned with his symphonies, the numerous (66) *divertissements*, *cassationes*, sextets, etc. To these come 20 piano concertos and divertissements for piano, 9 violin concertos, 6 cello concertos, and 16 concertos for other instruments (double-bass, baryton, lyre, flute, horn), 77 string quartets, 35 trios for piano, violin and cello, 3 trios for piano, flute and cello, 30 trios for strings and other combinations, 4 violin sonatas, 175 pieces for baryton, 6 duets for solo violin and viola, 7 nocturnes for lyra; further: minuets, allemandes, marches, etc. At the head of the vocal works are to be placed the two oratorios: *The Creation* and *The Seasons;* besides these, he wrote another oratorio, *Il ritorno di Tobia*, 14 masses, 2 Te Deums, 13 offertories, a stabat mater, several *salves*, *aves*, sacred airs, motets, etc., some occasional cantatas, among which *Deutschlands Klage auf den Tod Friedrichs des Grossen* for a solo voice with baryton. What is least known is that Haydn also composed operas; most of these were, to be sure, designed for the always limited resources of the Eisenstadt or Esterhazy Marionette Theatre and Haydn himself did not wish that they should be performed elsewhere. Only one, *La vera constanza*, was written for the Vienna court theatre, but the performance was prevented; the autograph score, supposed to have been lost, was found again among the manuscripts which, at the dissolution of the *Théâtre italien*, 1879, were acquired by the Paris conservatoire. In London, in 1794, Haydn began an *Orfeo*, but left it unfinished. Besides the 24 operas, he also wrote a series of single airs, a solo scene *(Ariadne auf Naxos)*, 36 *Lieder*, a collection of Scotch and one of Welsh songs, three-part, with clavier, violin and cello, the *Zehn Gebote* (also as, *Die zehn Gesetze der Kunst*, vocal canons) and, further, duets and three-part to four-part songs. Haydn's brother John Michael (born 14 September 1737 at Rohrau, died 10 August 1806 at Salzburg), in 1757 music-director to the Bishop of Grosswardein, 1762 orchestral conductor to the Archbishop at Salzburg, later *Concertmeister* (orchestral leader) and cathedral organist at that place, distinguished himself especially in the domain of church music, wrote 24 Latin and 4 German masses, 2 requiems, 114 graduals, 67 offertories, as well as many responses, vespers, litanies, etc., further 6 four-part or five-part canons, *Lieder*, part-songs, cantatas, oratorios

and several operas. Of his instrumental works (which, however, are considerably inferior to those of his brother) are preserved: — 30 symphonies, some serenades, marches, minuets, 3 string quartets, a sextet, several *partite* and 50 preludes for the organ. Some of his compositions appeared under the name of his brother Joseph. Moreover, he throughout resisted the publication of his works, and himself gave Breitkopf and Härtel a refusal, so that most of them have remained in manuscript.

Among the contemporaries of Haydn, as clavier composers, next to Mozart, with whom we have to concern ourselves more particularly later, Clementi, Dussek and Hässler, all three *virtuosi*, occupy an important place. Muzio Clementi, born 1752 at Rome, died 1832 at Evesham, Worcestershire, came as a boy to London and, his *virtuoso* journeys excepted, passed his life there as a highly esteemed teacher; he materially developed the piano sonata, especially the virtuoso side of it; he was perhaps the first who wrote in a way exactly suited to the keyboard, and he considerably developed passage-writing and the playing of ornaments. Of immortal value is the greatest of his studies, the *Gradus ad Parnassum.* Pupils of Clementi are: — Johann Baptist Cramer (born 1771 at Mannheim, died 1858 in London), who likewise has raised himself an immortal monument with his studies; John Field (born 1782 at Dublin, died 1837 at Moscow), Chopin's predecessors as nocturne composer; Ludwig Berger (born 1777 at Berlin, died there, 1839, teacher of Henselt); Alexander Klengel (Kanon-Klengel); and for a time, also Moscheles and Kalkbrenner. Johann Ladislaus Dussek (born 1761 at Ischaslau, died 1812 at Paris) excelled especially in a melodious style of performance on the clavier, and even in his compositions (sonatas, concertos, etc.) cultivated the *cantilena* especially. Johann Wilhelm Hässler (born 1747 at Erfurt, died 1822 at Moscow) stands midway between Ph. E. Bach and Haydn; he excelled, on the one hand, in the employment of newer graces (division of runs, etc., between both hands), on the other hand by very mnutely finished pathetic rendering and clear phrasing. As one of the first quartet and symphony composers, we must mention particularly Joseph Gossec (born 1734 at Vergnières in Hainault, died 1829 at Passy, Paris) who also gained laurels as an opera composer.

166. How did opera develop further after Lully, Alessandro Scarlatti and Handel?

The French opera, after Lully's death (1687), poorly maintained its existence with the compositions of Desmarets, Colasse, Campra and Destouches, who did not succeed in removing Lully's works from the repertoire. Not until the advent of Philip Rameau (born 1683, died 1764) had the French again a distinguished composer, whose first work, *Hippolyte et Aricie*, was given in 1733. Rameau followed plainly and emphatically in Lully's endeavours, attached, like the latter, the greatest value to dramatic pathos, and did not favour *virtuoso* singing, which had in the meantime developed to excess. Rather more melodious than Lully, Rameau certainly is, but *colorature* are rare with him. Tone-painting and the laborious working-out of the meaning of the words has further increased in Rameau as compared with Lully. Nevertheless, a certain influence of the Italians on Rameau's music is unmistakable, and this even created many difficulties for him among his own countrymen, who reproached him with the wish to Italianize the French opera. Later, he was idolized as a genuine national composer. But it was not very long before the Italians again obtained a footing in Paris, but with the comic opera, the *opera buffa*, created meanwhile, by Nicolo Logroscino (born 1700, in Naples, died there 1763) and Giov. Battista Pergolesi (born 1710 in Naples, died 1736). An Italian *opera buffa* company obtained permission in 1752 to play in Paris, and made such a success with Pergolesi's operas: *La serva padrona* and *Il maestro di musica*, that Paris divided into two armies, the *opera buffists*, and the anti-*opera-buffists* or champions of the national opera. But after two years, the Italians were obliged to leave Paris, and now, as the result of the Italian *opera-buffa*, the French comic opera arose, the *operetta*, of which François André Danican-Philidor (1726—1795), Pierre Alexandre Monsigny (1729—1817) and André Erneste Modeste Grétry (1741—1813) were the most considerable representatives. The most distinguished representatives of Italian opera until Gluck are, besides those already mentioned, especially the German Johann Adolf Hasse, (born 25 May, 1699, at Bergedorf near Hamburg, died, end of December, 1783 at Venice) many years (1734—1763) court music-director at Dresden, husband of

the famous songstress Faustina (Bordoni), who wrote over 100 operas; Niccolo Antonio Porpora (born 1686 at Naples, died there 1766, Hasse's teacher); Nicola Jomelli (born 1714 at Aversa near Naples, died there 1774) many years music-director at Stuttgart; Domenico Terradeglias (born 1711 at Barcelona, died 1751 in Rome); Pietro Guglielmi (born 1727 at Massa-Carrara, died 1804 in Rome, one of the most important representatives of *opera buffa);* Antonio Maria Gasparo Sacchini (born 1734 near Naples, died 1786 in Paris, composer of serious operas); Tommaso Traetta (born 1727, near Naples, died 1779 at Venice) and Niccola Piccini (born 1728 near Naples, died 1800 at Passy, Paris, Gluck's great rival). The creation of the *opera buffa* had unquestionably become a renewing process in Italian opera. The stencil-like make of the operas on antique historical or mythological subjects, which, finally, only gave one more weak excuse for the singing evolutions of the *primi uomini (castrati)* and *prime donne*, came here into direct opposition to true dramatic life; it necessarily happened that the *opera buffa* reacted upon the *opera seria*, either by comic characters and episodes forcing entrance into the latter *(opera semiseria)*, or by the forms which had newly arisen in the *opera buffa* (dramatic ensemble, finale, aria in rondo form, etc.) passing into the grand opera. At first, to be sure, there was no hurry in the matter, i. e. the *opera seria*, even after the rise of the *opera buffa*, remained for some time still the model opera, a series of long airs of the Scarlatti form (with *da capo*), in which virtuoso singers could display their trills and *roulades*, and connected by recitatives more or less meagre; the same composers wrote in the one and in the other style (Hasse, Porpora), until Gluck's reform, which related simply and solely to *opera seria*, put an end to the senseless formality, from the foundation of this itself.

Just as before 1600, through the imitation arts of the polyphonic composition of the Netherlanders, the import of the words of the songs was thrown completely in the shade, so it happened again now through the stereotyped tasteless ornaments and, to call them properly, instrumental passages of the *canto fiorito* of the castrati-serving opera composers. It needed therefore a strong reaction if the serious species of opera, which, æsthetically, was doubtless highly to be esteemed, was not to hasten to complete

decay. Although Lully, and later Rameau, had a similar end in view, yet it must be said, that, on the one hand, they did not pursue that end with all their energy and strength, on the other hand they shot beyond the mark; they were too much taken up with the minutiæ of the meaning of the words, and so made a larger form impossible. In order to find the right way here, to reach the goal and yet not go beyond, it required a genius who with his high aim in view, should still not forget that the purely musical has also claims as regards form. Such a one was found in Christoph Wilibald Gluck.

Gluck was born 2nd July 1714, at Weidenwang near Neumarkt in the Upper Palatinate, where his father was forest-keeper to the Prince of Lobkowitz. When he was three years of age, his father migrated to Bohemia; the young Gluck, therefore, received his first musical instruction in different Bohemian towns, at last in Prague; he gained special skill in cello-playing, and had very early to gain his own living by the teaching and performance of music. In 1736, for his further education, he went to Vienna. There, in the house of Prince Lobkowitz, his father's employer, the Lombardy Prince Melzi heard him sing, and took him with him to Italy, to Milan in particular, where he had him instructed by Sammartini. After four years' study, Gluck appeared as a composer, first in 1741 with *Artaserse* (Milan); now, quickly followed: *Iperm-nestra* and *Demetrio* (Venice, 1742), *Demofoonte* (Milan 1742), *Artamene* (Cremona, 1743), *Siface* (Milan 1743), *Alessandro nell' Indie* (Turin 1744) and *Fedra* (Milan 1744). These works, genuine Italian operas such as were once written by Sacchini, Guglielmi, Jomelli, Piccini, quickly made him famous, so that in 1745 he was invited to London to write operas for the Haymarket Theatre; he gave *La caduta dei Giganti* (1746), repeated the *Artamene*, and sought to make a special *coup* with a *pasticcio, Piramo et Tisbe*, which he composed with the best airs of former operas, but completely failed in the experiment. The London journey forms a turning-point in his composing activity; it was probably partly his own reflections on the *fiasco* of his *pasticcio*, and partly the powerful impression of the music of Handel and also of Rameau, whose acquaintance he made at this time in Paris, that moved him to improve his style on the side of dramatic expression

and to give higher rights to the words along with the music. The complete revolution of his style took place quite gradually, though it is foreshadowed in his next opera, *La semiramide recognosciuta*, which he wrote in 1748 for Vienna, whither he had gone on leaving London, and where he was music-director of the Imperial opera from 1754—64. In 1749 he was called to Copenhagen, to write a small festive opera, *Filide*. There followed further, *Telemacco* (Rome 1750,) *La clemenza di Tito* (Naples 1751), *L'eroe cinese* (Vienna 1755), *Il trionfo di Camillo* and *Antigono* [Rome 1755, where the Pope created him a Knight of the golden spur (afterwards Ritter von Gluck)], *La Danza* (1755, a court festival at the castle of Laxenburg), *L'innocenza giustificata* and *Il re pastore* (Vienna 1756), *Testide* (same place 1760), *Don Juan* (ballet, same place 1761), *Il trionfo di Clelia* (Bologna (1762) and a great number of new airs for getting up older operas of other composers in Vienna and Schönbrunn. Gluck also about this time composed afresh a number of *Singspiel* texts by Favart, Anseaume, Sedaine, Dancourt, for the court, after he had become familiar with these and the music of Duni, and had found pleasure in this *genre;* viz., *Les amours champètres* (1755), *Le Chinois poli en France*, *Le déguisement pastoral*, *La fausse esclave*, *L'île de Merlin*, *L'ivrogne corrigé*, *Le cadi dupé* (1761), *On ne s'avise jamais de tout* and *La rencontre imprevue* (The Pilgrim of Mecca). The year 1762 marks a second period, the end of the years of wandering, of seeking, the attainment of mastery. Gluck gave the world his *Orpheus* (*Orfeo ed Euridice*, Vienna). That which hitherto had been missing to him, he this year found, a poet who like himself understood the defect of Italian opera and put action and passion into his scenes instead of poetical comparisons and aphorisms. This poet was Calzabigi, the author of the texts of *Orpheus*, of *Alceste* (Vienna 1767) and of *Paride ed Elena* (same place 1770). Concerning his aims, Gluck spoke in his preface to the scores of *Alceste*, *Paris and Helena*. Nevertheless, he still wrote at this time a number of works to texts of Metastasio also, in which his efforts for reform are less conspicuous *(Ezio*, 1763; *Il Parnasso confuso*, 1765; *La corona*, 1765; and in 1769, composed for the court of Parma, the interludes, *Le feste d'Apollo*, *Bauci e Filemone* and *Aristeo)*. In 1772 Gluck made the

acquaintance of the attaché of the French embassy, Balli du Rollet, who became enthusiastic for his ideas of reform, and persuaded him to try his luck in Paris; he prepared for him Racine's *Iphigénie* (*in Aulis*) as an opera text and mediated for the performance of the work quickly completed by Gluck. But it was necessary that Marie Antoinette, Gluck's pupil formerly, should speak personally in its favour in order to overcome the violent opposition which at once arose. Gluck, at the age of 60 years, hastened to Paris for the purpose of rehearsing the work, and on the 19th April followed the first performance. *Orpheus* and *Alceste* were also prepared for the French opera with changes not immaterial, and the press, not only to the performance, but to the first general reheasal open to the public, was immense. Paris separated, as at the time of the *opera buffa* contests, into two hostile encampments. Those who honoured the music of Lully and Rameau came to the side of Gluck, who was also patronized by the court; the friends of Italian opera extolled Piccini, and the same libretto, *Roland*, which had been given to Gluck for composition, they contrived without the latter's knowledge, to give at the same time to Piccini. Gluck had meanwhile already performed two small French operas: *Le Siège de Cythère* and *L'arbre enchanté* (1775), and gone back to Vienna, where he next took his *Armida* in hand. When he heard of the double-dealing in reference to *Roland*, he became irritated to such an extent that he tore up his sketch and declined the composition. The contest between the Gluckists (Abbé Arnaud, Guard, etc.) and the Piccinists (Marmontel, La Harpe, Ginguené, d'Alembert) is famous; a great many pamphlets and newspaper-articles were published on both sides. The *Armide* at the beginning was not very successful (March 1777), on the other hand, *Iphigénie en Tauride* (Iphigenia in Tauris), drove the party of Piccini completely out of the field (1779, text by Guillard); the inferior impression made by Gluck's last opera, *Echo et Narcisse* (1779), had no longer power to lessen his fame. The aged master, warned by a slight attack of apoplexy of the decay of his strength, returned, loaded with fame, in 1780, to Vienna, where he passed his last years in repose; a new attack of apoplexy put an end to his life (15th Nov. 1787). Only a few works were written by Gluck apart from the stage; they are: — six

symphonies (of the older kind, i. e. overtures), eight odes of Klopstock, for one voice and clavier, a *de profundis* for chorus and orchestra and the eighth Psalm *a capella*. A cantata, *Das jüngste Gericht*, remained unfinished. Gluck's merit in regard to serious opera consists in adding materially to the depth of its contents. The grand opera of the Italians, notwithstanding the high-sounding name and apparently really tragic material, was a harmless masquerade. The poetical sketches, by means of romance-like arrangements were distorted beyond recognition, and the manner of composition favoured one side only, that of singing-virtuosity. In energetically opposing this, after he had, to be sure, himself composed for twenty years in the manner of the Italians (*Artaserse* 1741 — *Orfeo* 1762), Gluck brought about a reaction similar to that which the Florentines strove for; he appeared as the champion of dramatic poetry in opposition to an excess of the purely musical, for, that it was at the bottom a perfectly sound musical principle that had formed the grand aria of the Italian opera precisely so and not otherwise, we dare not deny. In Handel's oratorios, where no action cripples this form and it is in its right place with its large lyric out-flow, we now still admire the most perfect type of this art-form. If music is left to itself, it drifts to a few substantial forms. A glance at our instrumental music with its stereotypes, and its sonata-form akin to the *da capo* aria, confirms this only too well. But it is certainly true that such a stereotype form is not compatible with the claims of drama. Gluck's departure from this unchanging aria-form was therefore a well-justified one, but also, certainly, a limitation of musical development. Gluck, therefore, himself said certainly with full consciousness, "Before I begin to compose, I seek to forget that I am a musician". This expression recalls strikingly Caccini's noble contempt for song. The peculiar position of Lully and Rameau, in opposition to the Italians, already had something of the nature of Gluck's endeavours, and it is therefore no accident that Gluck could succeed precisely in Paris with his reform. In the pathos of Lully, there is especially something closely allied to Gluck's manner of composition. Quite recently, as is known, Richard Wagner again occupied a similar standpoint and consciously followed Gluck. It is interesting to follow the development of reci-

tative from the altogether uninteresting psalmody of the Florentines through the agile but colourless *secco* of the Neapolitans to the impressive and instrumentally important recitative of Gluck, and finally to the unsurpassed intoned speech of Wagner, above an orchestral accompaniment constructed of motives. But no great leaps have, it is true, been made here; Gluck's accompanied recitative had already been heralded by Monteverde, but especially by Rameau and also by Purcell, while the transition to Wagner was specially effected through the medium of the German composers Weber, Spohr and Marschner.

Just as the comic opera made its way from Italy to Paris, at first through the Italians themselves, it being taken up only later by Duni, Grétry, Monsigny and others, so likewise it found a fertile soil in Germany, though it was not imported by the Italians, but developed at once independently. The first German composer of Singspiel was Joh. Adam Hiller (born 1728, died 1804), cantor at St. Thomas' and music-director at the Gewandhaus, Leipzig. His pieces: — *Lottchen am Hofe*, *Die Liebe auf dem Lande*, *Lisuart und Dariolette*, were once great favourites. He first appeared in 1765, with *Die verwandelten Weiber*. Hiller's principle was to give people of the humbler class, who appeared in his pieces, only simple songs to sing, but to people of rank, on the contrary, arias. The songs in his operettas were thoroughly suited to the people and became very popular.

In the sixties the operetta became so exceedingly popular that Ramler complained that it was supplanting all the tragedies and regular comedies. In 1778, the emperor Joseph II. established a national opera at Vienna, but both Italian and French comic operas were performed there. In 1786, was given there, for the first time, the very favourite operetta *Doctor und Apotheker*, by Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf (1739—97), which was soon followed by other pieces by the same composer. Further Vienna composers of operetta, to be named, are, — Joh. Schenk, whose *Dorfbarbier* is not yet forgotten; and Weigl, whose *Schweizerfamilie* still survives. But the German comic opera reached its highest perfection really in Mozart.

167. In what does the historical importance of Mozart consist?

First and foremost, it is to be mentioned, that Mozart was in general one of the most eminent musical natures

the world has ever seen. If ever musical creation was an inmost necessity to any master, it was so to him. The perfect naturalness, the unreflecting spontaneity of invention, is at least equally characteristic in him as in Haydn, compared with whom, however, he is distinguished by greater nobility of feeling, by higher cultivation. Haydn was a child of the people, grew up remote from his father's house, and married unhappily; Mozart was the son of a highly educated musical artist, and enjoyed the inestimable advantage of genuine German family life, as we shall presently see. In reference first to instrumental music, it was Haydn who in almost innumerable works first and finally established the importance of a regular subdivision of themes. The broader extension of the development in the first movements of symphonies, sonatas and quartets, with the exclusive use of the thematic contents of the two subjects, is Haydn's most peculiar creation, and his later symphonies especially show them in already very developed technique. Mozart and Beethoven were, as instrumental composers, the direct heirs of Haydn. If the latter, especially, has done much on a larger scale, if his harmonies are richer and he ventures more, if in short, he towers above Haydn, this is partly owing to his greater genius and more retiring, reflective nature; but it must not be forgotten that he was already standing on Haydn's and Mozart's shoulders. Haydn's whole nature had in it a gaiety, in fact a propensity to wit and banter; consequently the gushing humour of his compositions was the direct outflow of his own most peculiar self. While Beethoven in many of his latest creations disturbs the simpler form, but only to enlarge it so that it may suit his larger ideas, Haydn delights in forms but just created and fills them with ever-new contents. Mozart, who died young, did not really surpass Haydn as an instrumental composer; his nature was even so much akin to Haydn's that they often look very much alike. Haydn was at the same time Mozart's forerunner, for it was from him Mozart obtained the instrumental forms of composition, but he outlived Mozart by no less than 18 years, i. e. for more than half the space of Mozart's life, the last six years, to be sure, as we saw, as a sick man. Mozart's importance in the further development of music lies in the domain of opera, and indeed in that of comic opera, which was

brought by him to a perfection undreamed of before. Although his instrumental compositions, particularly his overtures, symphonies and sonatas, contain much which, in beauty of melody, sentiment and delicacy, as well as finish of work, transcends Haydn, yet he is not to be regarded as an improver of the instrumental forms of music, as compared with Haydn. But let us remember that neither did Josquin, Lasso, Palestrina, Bach or Handel, become great by inventing new forms, but rather through giving a higher value to already existing ones by enriching them with highly important contents; this we may truly call perfecting; therefore Mozart and Beethoven had no need to exercise their might in the origination of new forms.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was born 27th January, 1756 at Salzburg, and died, scarcely 35 years of age, 5th December, 1791 at Vienna. Mozart's father, Leopold Mozart (born 1719, died 1787), son of a bookbinder at Augsburg, had with difficulty worked his way out of needy circumstances; but originally, he had not the intention of selecting music for his calling but studied jurisprudence, earning the means to do so by teaching music. He must, however, have studied music very thoroughly even early, for, in 1743, he became court musician to the Archbishop Sigismund of Salzburg, and rose later to be composer to the court, leader of the orchestra, and, in 1762, vice-music-director. His studies had led him to Salzburg, want of the means of subsistence had compelled him to enter the service of the canon Count Thurn as *valet de chambre;* the Count was then probably the means of his obtaining occupation in the chapel. Leopold Mozart was even a prolific and highly esteemed composer, wrote many church pieces, symphonies, serenades, concertos, *divertimenti,* 12 oratorios, also operas, pantomimes and all kinds of occasional pieces. "His style is old fashioned, but solid and full of contrapuntal insight. His church pieces are of greater worth than his chamber pieces" (Schubart). He gained really great repute by a work published in the birth-year of his famous son, viz. the *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule.* This was next to Geminiani's (1740) the first, and for a long time the most esteemed instruction-book in violin playing, and was extensively circulated in many editions and translations. Leopold was a man

of practical understanding and energetic earnestness. With this he had a decided inclination to criticism, mockery and sarcasm. The hard, needy circumstances through which he had to work his way, surrounded by people to whom he was greatly superior, procured him, as the result of practical experience, the conviction that self-interest and self-seeking were the only qualities to be expected in one's fellow-beings. Compared with his inexperienced, ever-confiding, never-calculating son, he appears, later, as the indispensable adviser in practical matters, often, it must be allowed, without the wished-for result. Culture and natural understanding raised Leopold Mozart above the rest of his circle, so that his position was somewhat isolated, although as a teacher he was greatly sought after and highly esteemed. He devoted himself, therefore, from predilection and with extraordinary affection and self-denial, to the education of his children; of this the following instance may serve as proof, that from the time when his son began to appear as a composer, he himself ceased to compose, because he did not wish to compete with his son. In 1747, he married Anna Maria Pertl, a native of Salzburg. The Salzburger mind, according to Schubart *Ästhet. d. Tonkunst* (p. 158), has a bent for low-comedy. "Their national songs are so ludicrous and burlesque that one cannot hear them without being convulsed with langhter; the spirit of buffoonery peeps through at every turn, and the melodies are mostly excellent and very beautiful." This inclination to the comic was also conspicuous in Leopold Mozart's wife, and passed to her son. Leopold and his bride are said to have been the handsomest pair in Salzburg. Of the seven children of their marriage five died before they were a year old, only two grew up, a daughter Maria Anna, called Nannerl, born 1751, and our Wolfgang. Maria Anna, to whom the little Wolfgang five years younger, was warmly attached, had great musical talent, and, on their artistic journeys, appeared as pianist together with Wolfgang. She was married in 1784 to the Baron v. Berchthold, and died in 1829 after being 9 years blind.

In the year 1762, when Nannerl was eleven years of age and Wolfgang six, the musical performances of both were so striking that Leopold Mozart was induced to take them with him on an art-journey, first to Munich, in January,

and later, in September to Vienna. Mozart was, indeed, an infant prodigy, and differed from other infant prodigies only in the fact that he became something nevertheless; to be sure, he shared their short life. How Mozart by his organ-playing excited the wondering admiration of the friars in the monastery of Ips, how he received the most cordial welcome at the Court of Vienna and had intercourse with the princesses, especially with Marie Antoinette, to whom he gave the promise that he would marry her, how he played with the keyboard hidden, and all the rest of those little stories, we only mention in passing. It is probable that there is scarcely any eminent artist of whose youth so many details are known as of Mozart's. It may be mentioned, further, that numerous poems in different languages were printed about the infant prodigy Mozart.

The result of this first journey encouraged Leopold Mozart to make a greater tour as early as the following year, but to Paris. Of course their stopping-places were mostly the courts of princes, for in the towns there was not yet any musical public properly speaking. The residences and country-seats of the Bavarian Electors at Nymphenburg, of the Duke of Wurtemburg at Ludwigsburg, of the Palatine Elector at Schwetzingen, were their first scenes of action. In Mainz and Frankfort they instituted some public concerts with quite extraordinary success. And now there followed still further, concerts in Coblentz before the Elector of Trier, and in Aix-la-chapelle before the Princess Amalie of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Great, who would gladly have drawn the children to Berlin but Leopold Mozart would not consent to this because he had no great opinion of the Princess' means, and he attached great value to money. In Brussels the children played again before the Prince of Lothringen, governor of the Austrian Netherlands, and finally on the 18th Nov. they reached Paris. They resided with the Bavarian ambassador Count Eyck, the son-in-law of the Salzburg head-chamberlain Count Arco. The way to their successes was paved for them by the well known Baron Melchior Grimm. They of course had to play first to the Marquise de Pompadour, and from her as well as from the King and Queen, they met with the most friendly reception. A special result was that they obtained permission to give two great public concerts in the Theâtre de Monsieur

Félix, the *salon* of a wealthy private man. In Paris, also, appeared the first compositions by Mozart, — four violin sonatas, two of which were dedicated to the Princess Victoire and two to the Countess Tessé, Lady-in-waiting to the Dauphine. Title: — Par J. G. Wolfgang Mozart de Salzbourg, agé de sept ans.

Wolfgang's sister excited admiration by her thoroughly finished virtuosity; with Wolfgang, on the other hand, who was certainly already a distinguished pianist, organist, and violinist, it must have been more his eminent musical gift than his virtuosity, that excited wonder. Leopold Mozart wrote at this time: — "It is enough that my daughter is one of the cleverest players in Europe, when she is only just twelve years old, and the mighty Mozart, to put it briefly, knows in his eighth year all that can be expected of a man of forty." Improvisations of every kind, difficult transpositions into other keys, accompaniments extempore, appear altogether incomprehensible in such a child.

From Paris they went straightway to London and St. James'. King George III. and the Queen Sophia Charlotte, were themselves very musical; the teacher and music-director of the Queen was Johann Christian Bach, Sebastian Bach's youngest son, the so-called English or 'galant' Bach, a very popular, but rather superficial composer, who performed all kinds of tricks with Mozart. Mozart's father was a strict Catholic; he intimated in a letter that their financial returns would have been very different if he had not felt obliged from religious considerations to decline many an offer, — probably sacred concerts. From London they accepted the invitation of the Princess Nassau-Weilburg to the Hague. At Lille, Wolfgang fell very ill and was in bed four weeks; again at the Hague, first Maria Anna, and then again Wolfgang fell ill, both seriously, together about four months, so that the father of Mozart only with difficulty preserved his self-control. But both recovered, and Wolfgang, once more convalescent, wrote six violin sonatas for the Princess of Weilburg. On their journey home they touched again at Paris, where Baron Grimm admired the progress of Mozart; then Dijon, Berne, Zurich, Donaueschingen, Ulm, and Munich were reached and they arrived at last at the end of November, that is, after a three years' absence, again in Salzburg.

The family now passed another year in Salzburg, and

Wolfgang worked earnestly under his father's guidance at the further improvement of his education. Strange to say, his father had not been dismissed from his position notwithstanding his long absence and the fact that intrigue had not been wanting on the part of aspirants to the post. At the end of 1767, all the family, even the mother, left again, but in the direction of Vienna, where the marriage of the Archduchess Maria Josepha with King Ferdinand of Naples was to have taken place. But small-pox broke out in Vienna and the Princess died, and the Mozarts, also, fled to Olmütz where both the children were likewise seized with small-pox. Upon their convalescence and return to Vienna, they were very kindly received by the Emperor and Empress. The Empress especially, conversed minutely with Mozart's mother about the illness and journey, but there matters remained. For concerts, there was no opportunity. They were not invited to play at court. The Emperor Joseph was a parsimonious man, and wished to set a good example, and it was etiquette to follow him, that is, not to give any brilliant receptions. To this was added every kind of intrigue from musicians envious of the wonderful child. In Salzburg even, suspicions had been raised against the little Mozart, and it had been said that it was not he but his father who was the composer, and that the whole thing was a well-planned comedy; the Archbishop of Salzburg had Mozart shut up for several days and bade him write an oratorio to a text which he himself chose, and it was only the successful result of this trial which effectually persuaded him of the groundlessness of the calumnies. In Vienna, he was calumniated similarly, and extraordinary means had repeatedly to be employed to render the calumnies harmless. At last a lucky star appeared to rise, the Emperor himself requested the boy to write an opera. The manager of the theatre, Affligio, also declared himself ready to have it performed, and Leopold Mozart, always the practical man, knew how to obtain for it the interest of the singers of both sexes. Wolfgang decided upon a comic opera, the *La finta semplice* of Cotellini. Soon the opera was ready, 558 pages of score. But now intrigue began in earnest. The music was badly made, the words were written contrary to the metre because Wolfgang knew nothing of Italian; even the declarations of Hasse and

Metastasio that 30 operas had been performed in Vienna, which were not equal to Mozart's in a single particular, did not check them. It was asserted now, that Leopold Mozart had composed them; and Wolfgang had repeatedly to compose on the spur of the moment, before a large gathering of visitors, any texts selected, in order to prove that he could compose. At last matters came to the worst; singers of both sexes began to be concerned for the success of the opera thus attacked, the orchestra would not submit to be conducted by a boy, and soon the manager Affligio followed with the rest. He now continually postponed the performances; and a complaint of Leopold Mozart against Affligio remained without result. Thus passed the expensive residence in Vienna during three quarters of a year without receipts worth mentioning, while payments from Salzburg had also ceased. The performance never took place, and the performance of the little *Liederspiel, Bastien und Bastienne*, which took place in the private circle of a family named Mesmer (*not* that of the celebrated magnetiser) were no compensation; on the other hand, both father and son had the satisfaction that Wolfgang, by order of the Emperor, conducted with the *bâton* a solemn mass at the consecration of the ophanage church, 7th December 1768, therefore as a boy 12 years of age.

The reason why the Emperor could not bring about the performance of Mozart's opera was, that Affligio was lessee of the theatre and quite independent of the Emperor. The Imperial family had even free admission. It was a part of the parsimonious system of Joseph II.

On the return to Salzburg Wolfgang, notwithstanding his being only 12 years of age, was appointed orchestral leader to the Archbishop. But again his stay did not last long. Leopold Mozart had already regarded the last journey to Vienna as preparatory to a journey to Italy, and hoped that the *Finta semplice* would have paved the way for him; although this hope had not been fulfilled, he did not abandon the project of the journey, but carried it out in December 1769. The first concerts in Italy showed at once the lively nature of the southern people; the concourse was extraordinary and the applause mad. At an organ-recital in Verona the church was so crowded that Mozart had to find his way to the organ through the

monastery. Of a concert at Mantua, the complete programme is extant; it is chiefly with compositions and improvisations of his own that Mozart figures in it, a proof that he appeared less as a *virtuoso* than as a composer.

In Milan Mozart was examined by Sammartini, Gluck's teacher, and in Bologna by Padre Martini, the famous musical theorist and historian, (1706—1784), both of whom gave the most favourable opinion of the boy, but without becoming enthusiastic for him, which in Martini's case may be explained by his leaning to strict counterpoint. In Florence, Wolfgang played at court, and was examined by the Marquis Ligniville, again with the most brilliant results. The celebrated violinist Nardini accompanied him. A talented young violinist, an Englishman, a pupil of Nardini, Thomas Linley, formed a close friendship with Mozart and the boys parted in tears. Linley, on a boating excursion six years later was drowned, which put an end to great expectations. In Rome, as is known, Mozart wrote out from memory the famous *Miserere* of Allegri. It was forbidden on pain of excommunication to carry away or copy a vocal part belonging to the Sistine chapel; the affair became known in Rome, and a singer induced Mozart to perform the *Miserere* in company, where the agreement created general astonishment.

In Naples, Mozart did not indeed play at court, because the king took no interest in music, but he was everywhere enthusiastically received and gave a grand concert. When he returned to Rome, the Pope conferred on him the Knight's cross of the order of the golden spur, which Gluck also had. In the following years he styled himself Cavaliere A. M. At Bologna after passing an examination with success, he was made a member of the *Accademia Filarmonica.* And now they went back to Milan again, where rather a longer stay was made, for on his first visit to Milan Mozart had received the so-called *scrittura* for the next *stagione, i. e.* a commission to write an opera for the next season. It was the *Mitridate ré di Ponto.* After some intrigues, which were never missing, the opera was performed at Christmas 1770, and was a complete success; it was given twenty times, each time with greater success. Concerts in Venice and Padua, where they also made the acquaintance of Balloti, the well known theorist and teacher of Abt Vogler (Tartini had died a year be-

fore) formed the conclusion of the first Italian journey. At the end of March 1771, they arrived again at Salzburg.

Owing to the applause which his *Mitridate* had elicited, Mozart, soon after his return home, received commission to write an opera for the Carnival, 1773. But he was in Milan again much earlier, namely at the wedding festival of the Archduke Ferdinand and the Princess Beatrice of Modena, in the Autumn of 1771. The festival opera was composed by Hasse to a text by Metastasio: *Ruggiero*. Mozart had been requested by the Empress Maria Theresa to write a theatrical serenade; he chose *Ascanio in Alba* by Abbate Parini. L. Mozart writes, "I am sorry, the Serenade of Wolfgang has so annihilated the opera of Hasse that I cannot describe it." Hasse is said to have exclaimed, "The youth will send us all into oblivion." Hasse was unenvious and honourable, we learned how in Vienna he praised Mozart's *Finta semplice*.

When they returned to Salzburg the Archbishop Sigismund had just died, and he was succeeded by Hieronymus, Count of Colloredo, a man not inclined to music, who, through his treatment of Mozart, became notorious. To celebrate his installation Mozart composed the opera: *Il sogno di Scipione* by Metastasio. In the Autumn, 1772, they went again to Milan to compose the opera. The composition of an opera was at that time arranged in accordance with the wishes of the singers, and was therefore always completed with their assistance. The composer consequently needed to be on the spot, and indeed for about as long as the time required for the composition, as the singers refused or accepted arias quite regardlessly, just as it suited them. The singer was in fact the opera. The new opera was called *Lucio Silla*, text by Gamara of Milan. The success was just as great as with the *Mitridate*. *Silla* was the last opera written for Italy. The next one, *La finta giardiniera*, Mozart wrote for Munich, where it was performed in January, 1775. At this performance, his sister Marianne was also present. Besides this opera, Mozart also brought out several masses and a litany, played a piano concerto of his own composition as well as some sonatas and variations. It was reported, that Mozart would receive an appointment in

Munich; but much as Mozart may perhaps have desired this, for the terms upon which he stood with the Archbishop were by no means agreeable, the report proved to be without foundation. In the following year Mozart wrote the opera *Il re pastore* of Metastasio, for Salzburg. The occasion for writing it was given by the court festivities in honour of the Archbishop Maximilian then present.

The position of the Mozarts, father and son, at Salzburg was not a pleasant one, there was no particular discipline in the chapel and the music was not highly considered, besides which the Archbishop had engaged Italians for the best places, in accordance with the court etiquette of the time, and between the Italians and Germans there were endless collisions. And besides, Wolfgang received only 150 gulden yearly remuneration as *Concertmeister*, and the Archbishop accordingly treated him badly, told him he did not understand his art, and did his work badly. Yet all the pains Leopold Mozart took to procure his son another appointment were in vain. To improve his pecuniary circumstances therefore, and for the chance of somewhere getting a good appointment, he was obliged to think of a new artistic journey. But the Archbishop flatly refused him leave of absence, he could not endure this travelling about begging. This was too much for Wolfgang, and he asked for his discharge, which he received in the most ungracious form. His father retained his position. And now Wolfgang set out with his mother on another long journey; his father had to borrow the money necessary to equip them with horse and carriage, because his former savings were spent.

His first disheartening experience Wolfgang made at Munich. The Elector had nothing for him to do, and good friends entertained him with fair hopes. From Munich, four weeks later they went to Augsburg, the ancestral home of the family, where they were received by Mozart, a bookbinder and brother of Leopold. But a tolerably well-attended concert was the only success of the visit.

A longer stay was made in Mannheim, where music, especially instrumental music, was very flourishing as we have seen, under the direction of Holzbauer with Stamitz and Cannabich as orchestral leaders. One can understand Mozart's sense of satisfaction in this town, especially

as he found extremely social people in the Mannheim musicians, partly indeed really good friends. But so it ended. The Elector consoled him from month to month, but ultimately gave him no appointment. Some piano lessons and the publication of a composition, were all his returns; for the rest, he lived at his father's expense and fell into debt. His acquaintance with the Abbé Vogler, famous especially as an organist, did not result in any agreeable intimacy.

In the meantime Joseph II. founded in Vienna the German national opera for *Singspiele* and operettas, and Mozart hoped to get an appointment there; but this hope also proved vain. An all but settled offer to him of the post of *Dom* organist at Salzburg, he on his side declined. Meanwhile, Mozart fell in love with the beautiful and talented Aloysia Weber, daughter of Weber the prompter and copyist at the theatre, and it required the speedy intervention of the father Leopold to induce Mozart and his mother to continue their journey to Paris, instead of Wolfgang binding himself for life to the young singer. In Paris also, his success was poor; a symphony of his composition was performed, certainly, at the *Concerts spirituels* and pleased greatly; but he never came to the composition of an opera. The stay in Paris came to a sad end, as on the 3rd July 1778, Mozart's mother, who as we know was with him in Paris, died after a short illness. In addition to this the Salzburg *Capellmeister* Lolli died, and the Archbishop himself took the first step towards a reconciliation. Sorrowfully Mozart went back to his post of *Concertmeister*. Soon after, he was asked to write a new opera for Munich. This was *Idomeneo*, which marks the transition to his classical period. In January 1781, followed the first performance. In this same year Mozart removed to Vienna at command of his employer the Archbishop, who was now living at Vienna. The shameful treatment of this man (he treated Mozart like a servant) made Mozart request to leave. Now he was thrown upon his own resources, and had to live by giving lessons and composing. Notwithstanding many appeals, it was a good while before he found an appointment (1789, as Imperial composer of chamber music, with 800 florins salary); but he had at least opportunity of performing great works at Vienna, and made use of it. At the order of the Emperor, in 1781 he wrote the Singspiel: "*Die Entführung aus*

dem Serail", which was at last put on the stage by special order of the Emperor, amid renewed intrigues. In the same year Mozart married Constance Weber, the sister of his youthful love. Unhappily, she was a bad housekeeper and the family were therefore always in pecuniary difficulties. In 1786, Mozart produced *Die Hochzeit des Figaro*, which in Vienna, thanks to the intentionally bad singing of the Italians nearly failed, but was repeated with excellent success at Prague. Mozart therefore wrote his next opera *Don Giovanni* for Prague, (1787), and had it played only subsequently in Vienna, again with bad results. It is grievous to see how Mozart, the idolized boy, has in manhood to struggle against the cares of every-day life, how his works, now universally adored, were in Vienna placed after forgotten productions of second rank, and how none of the better-paid positions were obtainable for him. In 1789, at the solicitation and in the company of Prince Charles Lichnowski, he undertook a journey to Berlin, played at the Dresden court, and in Leipzig at the *Thomaskirche* (Doles and Görner drew out the stops for him) and at last at Potsdam, before Friedrich Wilhelm II. who offered him the position of first *Capellmeister* with 3000 Thalers salary; here Mozart's Austrian patriotism put in its *veto*, and the only opportunity of a comfortable position had gone by. The meagre thanks of the Emperor were the commission to write a new opera, *Cosi fan tutte* (1790). The last year of his life brought further: *La clemenza di Tito* (Titus) for Prague at the coronation of Leopold II., (6th September, 1791,) and for Vienna (*Schikaneder*) the *Zauberflöte* (30th September, 1791). His last work was the *Requiem*; he did not finish it, the magnificent Lacrimosa was his swan's song. The work was finished by his pupil Süssmayer. His funeral was arranged as simply and economically as possible, he had not even a special grave, but without a last escort, (his few friends accompanied the coffin only half way,) he was buried in the common burying-ground; so that even the place where he was laid cannot be exactly determined. In 1859 a monument was raised to him in the church-yard of St. Mark, after a splendid monument had already adorned his birthplace Salzburg since 1841. Amazed, we now stand before the rich inheritance bequeathed by a master who died so young. His peculiar

characteristics are grace and feeling. His style is the happiest blending of Italian delight in melody with German thoroughness and depth. The natures most akin to him are Schubert and Mendelssohn, who also shared his astonishing productivity and facility of creation as well as his shortness of life. The importance of Mozart as a composer is universal. In opera, in the domain of orchestral and chamber music, and at last in church composition also, he has created masterpieces of unfading beauty. The transference of Gluck's depth of expression to the comic opera, created types that will probably long be models. The first century that has gone since their appearance has done nothing to impair them. Nothing in *Don Juan*, *Figaro*, *Cosi fan tutte*, or in the *Zauberflöte*, is obsolete. We must not forget, in our admiration of Mozart, that the contemporary composers of comic opera, Italians and French as well as German, had worked bravely before him. The easy agility of the *parlando* song especially, had already been brought into highest development by Paisiello, Cimarosa, Schenck; the easier forms of *Ariette*, *Cavatine*, as of the dramatic *ensemble* he had only to take from his predecessors and fill them continually with new contents from the inexhaustible well of his fancy. Any real development of the comic opera since Mozart cannot be shown. Italy again raised itself to the highest point with Rossini's *Il Barbiere di Seviglia* which must be designated as a worthy companion to Mozart's Figaro, France gave two capable representatives in Boieldieu and Adam, and Germany followed with Lortzing and Flotow. But then the contemptible *genre* of burlesque operetta almost entirely absorbed the interest of the public as well as the talent of the composers of the comic opera *genre*. Moreover, the operetta of the 19th century had no doubt its predecessors in the low-comic, in fact indecent, parodying, bantering comic operas and musical buffoonery, which sprung up towards the end of the 18th century in Vienna and London (Wenzel Müller, Volckert, Dibdin). And yet even Mozart's *Zauberflöte* was the twin-sister of such a work by Müller (Caspar the Fagottist), as both works were originally based upon the same material.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

THE MUSIC OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

168. Is there any characteristic distinction to be made between the music of the 18th and of the 19th century, and to which master is the new art ideal to be traced?

The music of the 19th century has often been designated as increased subjectivity; but looking at the ever increasing representative and programme music of modern time, one might say, on the contrary, that the characteristic tendency of the 19th century is rather the desire to represent something in music, therefore to be objective. Nevertheless, such a categorical definition would not exactly hit the truth, but go beyond; for as we have already said emphatically (164), in many modern works subjectivity has certainly increased in a marked manner, namely, as excited passion, dark brooding and desperate seeking, in short as pessimism. This dark side of human emotion begins to cast its shadows on art with the entry of the 19th century. This individuality inspired by pessimism made its appearance at about the same time as the French Revolution; it appears in German poetry first, as the so-called *Sturm und Drang* Period, but is soon refined again to the classicality of Schiller and Goethe to reappear in the romantic school. In music this new view of the world is visible first in Beethoven and impresses on all his successors of the 19th century — Mendelssohn alone perhaps excepted — the stamp of melancholy and dissatisfaction; the more independent the development of the composer the more prominent becomes the pessimism (Schumann, Berlioz, Liszt, Brahms), and where, in place of the modern search after the unattainable, the pleasure of being is manifested, the originality at once becomes doubtful, and the imitation of the classical writers becomes more and more evident (as in Mendelssohn himself and in his successors, Hiller, Gade, Reinecke, Bennett, etc.). It is, however, an indisputable fact, that these modern effusions of inward sorrow are only for the least part purely lyric, unmeditated; they

are so in Beethoven, but with Schumann reflection already begins to play an important part, and composers tend more and more to paint sorrow instead of feeling it: that is, they become more and more objective, no longer give out the feelings represented as their own, but indicate by inscriptions and title the persons who had been in their minds as the actual bearers. The virtuosity which music has acquired, in connection with poetry, in illustrating the meaning of the words first in the opera and then in song, gradually led musical artists to develop this representative power of music further, and demand analogous effects from it without help of the words, *e. g.* clear definitions of situations, etc. (Berlioz, Liszt). But music has thus passed from an absolutely subjective art into an objective one, hardly to the benefit of humanity. For while absolute music, *i. e.* the purely subjective, even the more deeply coloured one of Beethoven, compels us also to feel what the composer felt, the programme music demands of us that we should understand what the composer wishes to show, and we are able only in a secondary degree to identify our own feelings with those of the composer. The immediateness of the effect is thus lost. In Beethoven himself there is little of this tendency as yet to be traced; his magnificent instrumental works represent nothing which transpired outside the composer's soul; the Pastoral Symphony itself even to the realistical musical joke at the end of the second movement is not a landscape-picture, but the free outflow of emotion which the natural picture excites. But in the other symphonies, not excluding the 9th, it is only wilfulness and the quest of absurd interpretations that can find any foundation for a programme.

Ludwig van Beethoven was baptized at Bonn 17th Dec. 1770, and was therefore probably born on the 16th December, and died 26th March, 1827, in Vienna. His father was a tenor singer at the Electoral chapel and his grandfather a bass singer and at last music-director; the family had therefore been musical for several generations. His first instruction in music, Beethoven received from his father; later the clever oboe-player Pfeiffer, to whom Beethoven later sent help from Vienna, and subsequently the court organist van der Eden and the latter's successor Chr. Gottl. Neese, were his teachers. In 1785 Beethoven was

appointed organist at the Electoral chapel. This appointment as well as his subsequent removal to Vienna, he owed to Count von Waldstein his first and in every respect most important patron. He was a knight of the Empire, later chamberlain and *commandeur* to the Emperor, and not only valued music highly, but played the harpsichord excellently himself (it is known that Beethoven dedicated to him the grand C major sonata, op. 53). In 1792 when Haydn was returning from England and was entertained by the Bonn orchestra, Beethoven had the opportunity of laying before him a cantata, which was specially noticed by him (the agreement that Beethoven should go to Vienna was probably made on this occasion). Waldstein wrote in October of the same year: — "Dear Beethoven, you are going now to Vienna in fulfilment of your long-combated wish. Mozart's genius still mourns, and laments the death of his pupil. With the inexhaustible Haydn he found a refuge but not employment; through him he wished to be again united with some one. Through unremitting zeal you receive Mozart's genius from Haydn's hands. Your sincere friend Waldstein". In 1787, Beethoven had already been once for a short time to Vienna, with recommendations from the Elector to his brother, the Emperor Joseph II. Mozart is said to have heard him then, and to have prophesied a great future for him. Now, at the time of his present visit to Vienna, he was 22 years of age. Being well recommended, he could not fail in finding entrance in Vienna into high musical circles (Prince Charles Lichnowski, Count Moritz Lichnowski, Count Rasumowski, etc.). Not very much came of Beethoven's purposed studies with Haydn; Haydn was not made for a teacher. It is true Beethoven went through a course of lessons in composition with him; but behind Haydn's back, Beethoven worked with Schenk, the composer of the *Dorfbarbier*, and with exercises corrected by Schenk, went to Haydn. This well-meant mystification lasted two years. Beethoven had the gain of learning strict composition from Schenk, while taking advantage of Haydn for the wider extension of his artistic views. Afterwards he had lessons from Albrechtsberger in counterpoint, and from Salieri in dramatic composition. The circle of noble musical friends was increased by the addition of Count Franz of Brunswick, the Baron von Gleichenstein and Stephan von

Breuning, a friend already in the old time at Bonn. But soon Beethoven's brothers Karl (bank official) and Johann (chemist) removed to Vienna, and represented the prosaic side of his not altogether unpoetical life, making vexatious bargains over his manuscripts. Beethoven's pecuniary circumstances were good; he never again accepted an appointment, but since his arrival in Vienna lived entirely by his compositions. His works were well paid, and he drew from Prince Lichnowski a yearly income of 600 florins, and, from 1809 to 1811, from the Archduke Rudolf and the Princes Lobkowitz and Kinsky even 4000 fl. annually. Notwithstanding this frequent intercourse with archdukes and princes, Beethoven was anything but a parasite or courtier, but all his life remained rather a democrat and republican who regarded rulers as tyrants. It is known that he dedicated his *Eroica* originally to Napoleon, because in him he saw a true republican; but when the latter assumed the dignity of emperor, he tore up the dedication. When during the Vienna Congress (1814) the monarchs present were on different occasions the guests together with Beethoven of the Archduke Rudolf, the great master (according to his own statement) made these exalted personages pay court to him, and always behaved himself as a man of rank. He felt himself with justice a king of art. The saddest time of his life began after the death of his brother Karl (1815) of whose son Beethoven undertook the guardianship. This nephew was the cause of much trouble to him, for particulars concerning him, as concerning everything else in Beethoven's life, we refer to the detailed biographies of Beethoven. But of very different and still deeper importance in the disposition of Beethoven and his consequent direction in composition, was a disease of the ears which appeared very early and continually grew worse; in 1800 it had already developed to great hardness of hearing, and gradually turned to complete deafness. He felt ashamed of his hardness of hearing, and sought to hide it; his harsh, morose, moody nature was therefore, at least in earlier years, partly assumed, although, on the other hand, it was an inevitable consequence of the evil. His otherwise robust health began in 1825 gradually to give way. In 1826 symptoms of dropsy appeared, which threatened his life; a severe cold besides, taken in December of the

same year, threw him upon a sick bed; after a painful operation for the dropsy, his strength more and more declined, till on 26th March, 1827, at 6 o'clock in the evening, he expired.

It is not until Beethoven that we see the new style, that of accompanied melody, which arose about 1600, develop to full perfection, but quite in an especial manner in the domain of instrumental music. What distinguishes Beethoven from Haydn and Mozart is the immense increase in the proportions; his feeling is deeper, more passionate, his ideas take a loftier flight; the breadth of his themes is proverbial. But whether we look at the grand outlines, or at the finest details of the figuration, everywhere, in all his leanings to his predecessors, we find Beethoven new and striking. As a vocal composer he was no innovator, but, in his single opera *Fidelio* (1804) he has insured himself a place among the most important dramatic composers, and in the *Missa Solemnis* has created a sacred choral work of the highest rank. With his 9th symphony and the choral fantasia he has for the first time employed a new form, repeatedly attempted since (Berlioz, Liszt, Felicien David). For truth of feeling and naturalness of expression his songs also hold a high rank. Of Beethoven's instrumental works, a complete list of which is given in every musical lexicon, are to be mentioned in the first rank: his 9 symphonies, the overtures to Leonora (3), Egmont, Coriolanus, King Stephen, *Zur Weihe des Hauses* etc., his piano concertos, his unsurpassed violin concerto, his 2 violin romances, 38 piano sonatas, 21 variations for the piano (in which he has created works of very special eminence), his 10 violin sonatas his 8 trios, 16 string-quartets, his septet, etc. It is customary to divide the artistic work of Beethoven into three periods, the first of which reaches to 1800, and contains the works 1—18. The so-called "last Beethoven" dates from about the time when he took charge of his nephew, set up a domestic establishment of his own, and made a general change in his way of living. From this time are derived the five last piano sonatas (Op. 101, 106, 109, 110 and 111), the five large string-quartets op. 127, 130, 131, 132 and 135, the quartet-fugue op. 133, the ninth symphony, "*Missa Solemnis*," and the overtures op. 115 and 124.

169. What important representatives has instrumental music to show since Beethoven?

Before all we must mention the early-departed Franz Schubert, whose merit in regard to song we shall have to estimate further on. As an instrumental composer, so far as grandeur of conception is concerned, he stands, to be sure, far behind Beethoven, but by his warmth of feeling, by his rich and tender melody, and most especially by his striking, bold harmony, he occupies a prominent place among the composers of the 19th century. The harmony of Schumann and Liszt takes its root directly in that of Schubert. Among Schubert's works are to be mentioned particularly: — his C major symphony, the unfinished tragic B minor symphony, some string-quartets, his E flat major trio, the *Forellen* quintet, the highly interesting piano sonatas (particularly the first in A minor and the last in B flat major), a series of unsurpassed duets for the piano *(Divertissement à l'Hongroise,* F minor Fantasia etc.). Next to Schubert among the successors of Beethoven, with talent of the first rank, the most prominent are, — Mendelssohn and Schumann. Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, born 3rd February 1809, in Hamburg, died 4th November 1847 in Leipzig, grandson of the Jewish philosopher and reformer Moses Mendelssohn (died 1786), son of the banker Abraham Mendelssohn (since 1812 in Berlin); showed musical talent astonishingly early, which received the most affectionate cultivation from the affluent and art-loving parents. First it was the little Fanny, three years older, who showed great talent, and soon Felix vied with her; the two remind one of Mozart and *das Nannerl*, as perhaps no other brother and sister do. In place of his mother's teaching, he soon had that of Ludwig Berger in piano-playing, of Henning in violin-playing and of Zelter for theory. In 1818, Felix played for the first time at a public concert; from 1820 dates Mendelssohn's regular activity in composition; in this year he wrote a violin sonata, two piano sonatas, a small cantata *("In rührend feierlichen Tönen")* a small operetta with the piano, two quartets for men's voices, etc. In 1821, he made the aquaintance of Weber, for whom he conceived an enthusiastic adoration, and through whom he was led into the romantic path; and towards the end of the same year Zelter conducted him to Goethe who took the liveliest interest in the boy. In 1824, on

his birthday, his fourth little opera, — *Die Beiden Neffen*, was performed entire in the house of his father, and Zelter promoted him solemnly in the name of Bach, Haydn, Mozart, from a disciple to an associate. Mendelssohn was 17 years of age when he wrote the Midsummer Night's Dream (1826). In 1827, he brought his first and last opera, *Die Hochzeit des Camacho*, to a performance in the Berlin theatre; notwithstanding its favourable reception it was laid aside (Spontini was not well-disposed towards Mendelssohn). Mendelssohn also for some years attended lectures at the Berlin University. A great artistic deed of Mendelssohn's falls within the year 1829: the first repetition performance of Bach's *Passion according to St. Matthew* (in the *Singakademie* under his leadership). In the same year Mendelssohn visited England. It was from London that his fame as a composer first spread; there he brought to a performance his *C minor Symphony* (at a concert of the Philharmonic Society, to whom he therefore dedicated it), and his *Overture to the Midsummer Night's Dream* for the first time. After a prolonged journey to Scotland (not for concert purposes), he returned full of artistic ideas to London. In 1830 he undertook a further journey to Italy, then turned towards Paris (1832) where he fell ill of the cholera, thence to London where he conducted the *Hebrides overture*, completed in the meantime, and played the *G minor Concerto* and the *B minor Capriccio*. Here also he published the first book of his *Lieder ohne Worte*. Returned to Berlin, he organized concerts on behalf of the *Orchesterpensionsfond*, and performed the *Overture to the Midsummer Night's Dream*, the *Hebrides overture*, "*Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*", the *Reformationssymphonie*, the *G minor concerto* and *B minor Capriccio*. His application for the succession of Zelter at the *Singakademie* was without result; on the other hand, in 1833, the management of the Lower-Rhine Musical Festival at Düsseldorf was intrusted to him; thence he again visited London and conducted his Italian Symphony, returned again to Düsseldorf, where he was appointed town music-director and remained two years, and in 1835 he conducted the Musical Festival at Cologne. Meanwhile he had accepted an appointment as music-director at the *Gewandhaus* concerts in Leipzig, upon which he entered in August 1835. His rare gift in con-

ducting, his comprehensive education, and his importance as a creative artist, quickly made him the centre of Leipzig musical life, and Leipzig the centre of the musical life of Germany, indeed of Europe. The Institute of the *Gewandhausconcerte* rose to a height of fame that it had never before attained, and after his death could only with difficulty maintain. Powerful support he found above all in Ferdinand David, whom he drew to Leipzig in 1836 as orchestral leader. In 1836 the University appointed him *Dr. phil. honoris causa*. In the year 1837, March, he married Cäcilie Charlotte Sophie Jeanrenaud. The union was a happy one, and five children were born of it: Karl, Marie, Paul, Felix and Lili. In 1843, in conjunction with the district director von Falkenstein, the Aulic councillor Keil, the music-publisher Kistner, the lawyer Schleinitz and the town-councillor Seeburg as directors, and Moritz Hauptmann, Robert Schumann, David and Chr. A. Pohlenz as head teachers, under the patronage of the King of Saxony, he founded the conservatorium of Leipzig, which soon became a seminary of the first rank. Repeatedly, King Frederick William IV of Prussia sought to draw Mendelssohn to Berlin. In 1841, Mendelssohn accepted an appointment for a year, and removed temporarily to Berlin, brought to a performance the music to *Antigone*, composed at the wish of the King, but soon returned to the sphere of his activity at Leipzig. He now, with the exception of short absences, remained until his death in Leipzig.

At the head of Mendelssohn's works stand: the two great oratorios *St. Paul* (1836) and *Elijah*, the most important publications in this domain since Haydn's *Creation* and *Seasons*. Moreover, Mendelssohn is an instrumental composer of the first rank, his overtures: *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hebrides*, *Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt*, *Schöne Melusine*, *Ruy Blas* and the *Trompetenouvertüre*, occupy a high rank, and show music far advanced in the way of objective characteristics. His 5 symphonies are especially distinguished by amiability and characteristic colour (No. 2 the 'Scotch' in A minor and No. 3 the 'Italian' in A major), his violin concerto, op 64, is still, next to Beethoven's, the favourite of all. Of the collection of concerted chamber music, his *C minor trio* and the *octet* are in particular to be mentioned. Men-

delssohn was himself an eminent pianist, and consequently wrote many pieces for the piano. In the first place must be mentioned the *Lieder ohne Worte*, which present a comprehensive literature of short pianoforte pieces (of which the *Moments Musicals* of Schubert might be considered the predecessors), further the more elaborate *Characterstücke* op. 7, the *Rondo Capriccioso*, op. 14, the *Variations Sérieuses* op. 54, the pianoforte *concertos* in *G minor* and *D minor*, etc. The peculiarity of Mendelssohn's style is a marked sense of euphony, which he even gives prominence to where he wishes to be characteristic, and to paint. He also attaches great value to symmetry of form, and in that respect is not exactly a strict romanticist. But what insures him a place among romanticists is his tendency to representative music, to which in the Midsummer Night's Dream he already made an important contribution. The fairy element has been copied from Mendelssohn's score by countless imitators.

The romanticist of the purest water is Robert Schumann, born 8th June 1810, at Zwickau in Saxony, died 29th July 1856, at Endenich near Bonn. His father was a bookseller, and favoured the musical inclination of his son, wrote indeed to K. M. von Weber in the intention of intrusting the boy's education to him; Weber is said not have been disinclined, although nothing came of it, and Schumann at the wish of his mother (his father died in 1826) finished his studies at the Gymnasium and went in 1828 to the University of Leipzig as *studiosus juris*. His talent and inclination received new food here; and regular instruction at the pianoforte from Fr. Wieck, led him continually closer to art. After he had passed a merry year at Heidelberg, he at last received his mother's consent to devote himself entirely to music, and in the Autumn of 1830 entered Leipzig again in order to study earnestly under Wieck (with whom he resided) and Heinrich Dorn. Schumann was on the road to becoming an excellent pianist, but ruined the first finger of his right hand by an experiment intended to accelerate the independent development of the fingers. In 1834 in conjunction with J. Knorr, Ludwig Schunke and his teacher Friedrich Wieck, he started the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, as an organ of musical progress, destined to oppose both the formality of obsolete rules which fetter the development of art, and

also the dilution and lowering of taste in the manner shown in the works of Italian opera composers and of German and French piano composers (Herz, Hünten etc.). Thus Schumann became the leader of a party, and the individuality which even before had already appeared decidedly prominent in his published pianoforte works, now, through its conscious tendency, became continually firmer and stronger. From 1835—44, Schumann was sole editor of the journal, and wrote a number of highly attractive articles, one of the first of which was a reference to the genius of Chopin. Later (when at Düsseldorf), he pointed in a similar way to the newly rising star Brahms. His manner of criticism was of a nature to stimulate and produce good effect (unhappily, it has quite gone out of fashion). Schumann's affection for the gifted young pianiste Clara Wieck, his teacher's daughter, developed gradually, as the latter grew up to womanhood. In 1837, he already asked for her hand, but the prudent father declined to give her to him, seeing that Schumann's position was by no means assured. The endeavour to add to his pecuniary resources by taking the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* to Vienna was unsuccessful (1838) and in 1839 he returned to Leipzig. In 1840 he received from the University of Jena the title of Doctor of Philosophy, and in the same year, notwithstanding her father's objection, he united himself to the beloved of his heart. Love opened to him the feeling for song, and now quickly followed a succession of songs, which contain within themselves some of the most beautiful pearls of lyric music. Gradually he attempted larger forms, wrote his first symphony in 1841, and a little later his quintet and quartet, as well as his first and most beautiful choral work "Paradise and the Peri". A new turn was given to his life through the foundation of the Leipzig Conservatorium by Mendelssohn (1843). He did not, however, remain long at the conservatoire, but removed to Dresden (1844). A concert journey with his wife to Russia preceded the removal. In Dresden, Schumann at first lived composing industriously and imparting private musical instruction; in 1847 he undertook the directorship of the *Liedertafel*, and in 1848 founded the *Chorgesangverein*. In 1850 he received a call to Düsseldorf as town music-director and successor to Ferdinand Hiller, who went to Cologne. Shortly after-

wards, unhappily, an affection of the brain, the first symptoms of which had already showed themselves in 1833, and which had become threatening even in 1845, developed in a dangerous manner. In the first stages it took the form of an anxiety for his life, but subsequently developed to an actual failure of mental power. His position of director he could no longer hold, and his removal from the post had of necessity to follow. Complete insanity broke out in 1854, when he threw himself into the Rhine; he lived for two years after this in the lunatic asylum of Endenich. Schumann's historical importance, apart from the *Lied* (of which hereafter) lies especially in the development of the characteristic pieces for the pianoforte suggested by Schubert and Mendelssohn, of which he wrote a great number *(Papillons, Davidsbündler, Carneval, Phantasiestücke, Kinderscenen, Kreisleriana, Novelletten, Nachtstücke, Intermezzi, Faschingsschwank, Waldscenen,* etc. and *Bilder aus Osten* for two performers, etc.); the markedly concentrated style of these passed also into his greater piano works, particularly the sonatas in F sharp minor and G minor, the *Concertstück* in G major and the A minor Concerto and concerted music, the magnificent quintet op. 44, the quartet op. 47, the trios in D minor, F major, G minor, and his 2 violin sonatas. Schumann, notwithstanding his pronounced endeavour to characterize, *i. e.* to represent, to paint, is a thoroughly lyric composer, and therefore greatest where this talent is turned to account. In his large forms, particularly in his 4 symphonies, is often wanting that breadth of design which keeps the whole together. An isolated place among modern composers is occupied by Franz Schubert's friend Franz Lachner (born 2nd April 1803, at Rain in Upper Bavaria)*, whose 5 suites for grand orchestra are brilliant specimens of contrapuntal art. Lachner has written 3 operas, several oratorios, many chamber pieces etc., which, notwithstanding the modern harmony, have still a tincture of classicism. In his leaning and taste, Lachner is akin to the younger, though already deceased, Friedrich Kiel (born 1821, died 1885) whose chief works are, — 2 *requiems*, an oratorio *Christus*, and a *missa solemnis*, besides which, he wrote numerous pianoforte pieces and chamber music. Joseph Rheinberger (born

* Died 20th Jan. 1890, Munich.

1839), equally industrious both as a vocal and instrumental composer, also shows similar retrospective tendencies. Other conspicuously important personages of the time of Mendelssohn and Schumann are: — Chopin, Berlioz, Liszt. Frédéric Chopin, born 22 Feb., 1810, at Zelazowa Wola, near Warsaw, died 17th October 1849 in Paris; was already admired as an infant prodigy at nine years of age. His teachers were the Bohemian Zwyny and Joseph Elsner director of the music-school of Warsaw. In 1828, he left his native town and went to Paris, giving concerts at Vienna and Munich on his way. Like a meteor he appeared in the sky, shining brilliantly a little while and then disappearing. He came matured to Paris, having already in his portfolio a great part of his compositions, amongst them his two piano-concertos. His first publication, the variations on a theme from *Don Juan*, inflamed Schumann with bright enthusiasm, and it was a high festival day when Chopin himself arrived in Leipzig. In Paris, Chopin quickly found a circle of friends, as brilliant as any he could have desired, — Liszt, Berlioz, Heine, Balzac, Ernst, Meyerbeer — men who understood him, and in whom he himself had more than insipid admirers. Chopin, as soon as he had introduced himself as a pianist and composer, quickly became a teacher everywhere very greatly sought after; in the best circles, he was the fashion. Unhappily, dark shadows soon fell on his sensitive, but by no means originally melancholy soul. Symptoms of a dangerous disease of the lungs appeared, and he had to go for recovery to Majorca. In 1849, an improvement seemed to have set in, and he carried out a long cherished wish to go to London, where he gave several concerts; disregarding the state of his health, he joined in various social gatherings, visited Scotland also, and returned completely exhausted to Paris. In the autumn of the year he died. Chopin's importance lies exclusively in the domain of the pianoforte. His style is altogether original, melancholy even to morbidness, yet daring and graceful, truly Polish. He cultivated as a speciality the forms of the nocturne and the improved modern dances (waltz, mazurka, polonaise). The tendency to tone-painting is far from him; his is a purely subjective musical nature; outwardly, the direct opposite of his friend and contemporary Hector Berlioz. The latter, born 11th December 1803, at Côte St. André (Isère), died 9th March 1869, in Paris, son of a physician and himself intended

for the study of medicine, left the university for the conservatoire against the wishes of his parents, and, as his father refused him all support, was obliged to earn his living as a chorus singer at the *Théâtre du gymnase dramatique*. He soon left the Conservatoire, as the dry rules of solid instruction were not agreeable to him, and he now gave the reins entirely to his voluptuous fancy. A mass with orchestra, performed for the first time at the church of St. Roche, the overtures,- *Waverley*, *Les Francs Juges* and the fantastic symphony, *Episode de la vie d'un artiste*, were already written and had been publicly performed when, in 1830, with the cantata *Sardanapale*, Berlioz won the *Prix de Rome;* to be able to compete for it, he had re-entered the Conservatoire and become the pupil of Lesueur. During his stay in Italy for study, he wrote the overture to *King Lear*, and the symphonic composition with song, *Lelio* or *Retour à la vie*, sequel to the *Symphonie Fantastique*. Berlioz also became active as a talented literary author writing *feuilletons* in the *Correspondant*, *Revue Européenne*, *Courrier de l'Europe*, *Journal des Débats*, and from 1834 in the newly-founded *Gazette musicale de Paris*, endeavouring thus by word and deed to introduce a new style which has now many opponents and deniers, although acknowledged to be correct in the main, — the so-called programme music. In Germany, Franz Liszt, especially, followed him, and in an independent way made these ideas his own. In 1843 Berlioz visited Germany, in 1845 Austria, in 1847 Russia, performing his works in the most important towns, and although often meeting with violent opposition, yet everywhere awakening a lively interest. In vain he hoped for an appointment as teacher of composition at the Conservatoire; he was appointed librarian only, and retained this position until his death. Berlioz is the father of radical programme music. Since his time an extreme party has arisen, who maintain that all music not intended to present something definite, is mere playing with notes. How preposterous this is, need not be discussed here. Music in its inmost nature does not paint, nor represent, but speaks, and is the direct outpouring of emotion; but it can become objective, and the programme composers make use of this possibility. The most active champion of the Berlioz idea, and most important follower in his path, was Franz

Liszt, whose chief importance, next to his uncontested kingship among piano virtuosos, lies in the domain of instrumental music, but especially of the programme symphony. Liszt was born 22nd October, 1811, at Raiding near Oedenburg (Hungary) died (31st July to the 1st Aug.) 1886 at Baireuth: he was an infant prodigy of altogether exceptional talent, received at 9 years of age an allowance from Hungarian magnates for his further education, and became, in consequence, a pupil of Czerny and Salieri in Vienna (1821—23). Beethoven kissed the boy, then 11 years of age, publicly, so greatly had he been charmed by him. In 1823, Liszt went with his father to Paris. His admission into the Conservatoire was refused by Cherubini, and Liszt pursued his pianoforte studies alone, but received lessons in composition from Paer, and later from Reicha. After several concert tours on one of which his father died, at Boulogne-sur-mer (1827), Liszt settled in Paris as a teacher; his mother lived with him. In 1825, he brought an insignificant operetta, *Don Sancho*, to performance at the grand opera. Paganini's appearance in Paris (1831) suggested to him the cultivation of new sides of his technique (extension, leaps). In quite another direction, his development was additionally improved by the peculiar style of Chopin with whom he became an intimate friend. Berlioz' return from Italy, and the performance of the *Episode de la vie d'un artiste*, made a still deeper impression on his artistic life, and made that perfectly clear to him which had always been his inward conviction, — that music must express something, represent something, must reproduce the poetic idea, and thus he became, with Berlioz, the vehicle of the idea of programme music. Just as the artist entered new phases, so also did the man. The favourite of the salon had now grown up, and the triflings assumed a more serious character. Of lasting importance were Liszt's relationships with the Countess d' Agoult (known as an authoress by the name of Daniel Stern), who left her husband, and lived with him several years (1835—39) first at Geneva, then at Nohant with George Sand, and also in Italy (Milan, Venice, Rome), and bore him three children, one of whom, Cosima, became the wife of Richard Wagner. At the end of 1839, he sent the Countess with the children to his mother in Paris, while he himself pursued his course as virtuoso until 1849, mak-

ing triumphal journeys through Europe. In 1836, he had already come out victorious from a contest with his most important rival Thalberg in Paris, whither he went twice from Geneva. In the year 1839, an extraordinary act of Liszt's took place; he wrote to the Committee of the Beethoven memorial at Bonn saying that he would be responsible for the sum still wanting (a very large one). In 1849 he undertook the position of court music-director at Weimar, where be remained for the next twelve years (till 1861). Weimar now became the meeting-place of eminent talent (Raff, Bülow, Tausig, Cornelius, etc.), the outwork of the new German school. In Weimar he wrote his *Simphonische Dichtungen*, which represent very exactly his individuality in creative art. Liszt lived at Rome from 1861 to 1870, when he conducted the Beethoven Festival at Weimar, and calmed the troubled relationships at the court there; from that time he spent some of the summer months every year at Weimar; in 1865, he had taken orders of the lower grade, had become an Abbé, and afterwards enjoyed the benefice of a canonry. Besides a series, almost impossible to review, of pianoforte works, from the *Characterstück* and dance, to the grand pianoconcerto with orchestra (particularly to be mentioned, are, — the 15 Hungarian Rhapsodies), the following compositions hold the first rank among Liszt's works: — the *symphonische Dichtungen*, viz., *Dante*, the *Faust-Symphony*, *Ce qu' on entend sur la montagne*, *Tasso*, *Les préludes*, *Orpheus*, *Prometheus*, *Mazeppa*, *Festklänge*, *Hungaria*, *Hamlet*, *Hunnenschlacht*, *Die Ideale*, *Von der Wiege bis zum Grabe* and *Heroïde funèbre*. But we must not forget to point out that Liszt has also come out in grand style as a vocal composer (*Graner Messe*, *Hungarian Coronation Mass*, *Psalms*, *Oratorios*, — *Christus*, *St. Elizabeth*, *Stanislaus*, *St. Cecilia*, etc.). Very exciting was Liszt's activity as a writer, which served especially to spread the ideas of Berlioz and Wagner. Gifted successors of Schumann and Mendelssohn, are Robert Volkmann, born 6th April 1815 at Lommatsch (Saxony), died 30th October 1883 at Pesth (Symphony in D minor, Overture "Richard III" and many piano-compositions) and the two masters of miniature pianoforte composition, Stephen Heller (born 1814, died 1888) and Theodore Kirchner (born 1823).

170. How did the song (*Lied*) composition, now so exceedingly flourishing, develop?

The springtime of song from the 15th to the 16th century, after the rise of accompanied monody, was at first followed by a complete silence of the song properly so-called. The four-part setting of songs was abandoned, and the new style proved not pliable enough to replace it in song also. It was not until last century that artistic treatment of true songs again appeared (the people meanwhile, have of course continued to sing, as they have ever done, their one-part melodies), and for the first time indeed in the German *Singspiel*, but then in the first compositions of the lyric gems of Goethe. It is known that Joh. Fr. Reichardt (1752—1814) and Karl Fr. Zelter (1758 — 1832) were the first who were permitted to lend music to Goethe's words, neither a genius, to be sure, but both possessed of honest, homely talent. Beethoven and Mozart found the right tone for some; but out of the fulness of a special gift, predestination even, Franz Schubert created a new spring of songs more beautiful than any that had been before. Franz Schubert, born 31st January 1797 at Lichtenthal near Vienna, the son of a schoolmaster of the suburb of Lichtenthal, died 19th Nov. 1828 at Vienna, obtained admittance at the Vienna court chapel and at the *Convictschule*, as well as regular instruction in thorough-bass (Rucziszka, Salieri). His teachers had nothing to do but to reveal to him as law what lay half consciously within him, and even his first compositions excited just astonishment. When his voice broke (1813) he left the *Convict*, although the bestowal of a scholarship (*Freistelle*) gave him the right to have stayed longer; it appears that an inclination for learned study was wanting in him, he preferred adopting the calling of a schoolmaster as his father's assistant, and for three years he taught in the elementary school of the suburb of Lichtenthal. But that left him time enough to write 8 operas, 4 masses and other sacred works, as well as a great number of songs (among which were *Erlkönig*, the *Wanderer*, *An Schwager Kronos*, etc.). It was a true, disinterested friend, Franz von Schober, who enabled Schubert at last, in 1817, to throw off the fetters of his position, and devote himself exclusively to music; Schober repeatedly shared his home with him for years, and aided him with money. Through

Schober he became acquainted with the tenor singer Michael Vogl, who became the first, and one of the best singers of Schubert's songs. Schubert during his life, shorter still, to be sure, even than that of Mozart, was, like the latter, unable to obtain a position by which to assure his material existence. During the summer months of 1818 and 1824, he stayed as music-teacher in the family of Count Esterhazy, at his country-seat at Zelesz in Hungary. For the rest he only quitted Vienna a few times for a pleasure trip or a visit. The position offered him in 1822, as organist at the court chapel, he declined. His application for the position of assistant court music-director, made vacant by the death of Salieri and the promotion of Eybler (1825) failed to attain its object, as Weigl gained the post. The position of music-director at the Kärntnerthor theatre, he also applied for in vain (1827). So he was, and continued to be, left to depend on the prices paid for his compositions, which he unfortunately did not know how to raise in accordance with his success. Only once (1827) he organized a concert with his own compositions, which was very successful (Trio in E flat, a movement from the D minor quartet, *Lieder*, etc.). Schubert, so far as is known, wrote 457 songs, about 100 of them to Goethe's poems, besides which a series of *Singspiele* — which, however, had little success — and some secular and sacred choruses. How industrious he was as an instrumental composer also, we have already seen. The *Lied* was as though new created by him; he wrote it as it came into his mind, without thought, just as the people find their songs, and that was the right method. His most important followers as composers of songs, are Robert Schumann, especially in his compositions of the poems of Heine, Eichendorff and Chamisso, as well as the choral works closely allied to the *Lieder* composition, viz., *Paradise and the Peri*, *The Pilgrimage of the Rose*; further Robert Franz (von Knauth), born 28th June, 1815, at Halle on Saale, died there Oct. 24, 1892; besides his songs, which overflow with feeling, he is also known by his arrangements of the scores of Bach and Handel in a manner suitable for the times; Adolf Jensen, born 12th Jan. 1837, at Königsberg in Prussia, died 23rd Jan. 1879, at Baden-Baden, who is as tender in his songs as in his pianoforte music, and Joh. Brahms. Brahms was born 7th May 1833,

at Hamburg, son of a player in the orchestra, and pupil of E. Marxsen.* In 1853, Schumann already referred to Brahms in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* as a newly rising star. After several years' activity as director-in-chief at the court of Lippe-Detmold, Brahms lived first for some time studyingc and omposing in his native town, and then, in 1862, went to Vienna, which became his second home, for if after working a year as director of the *Singakademie*, he again in 1864 left Vienna, yet he never felt at home anywhere else (Hamburg, Zürich, Baden-Baden, etc.) and in 1869 he returned to the town on the Danube, conducted the *Gesellschaftsconcerte* (Concerts of the society of the patrons of music) 1872—1874, until Herbeck, dismissed meanwhile from his directorship at court, took charge of them, then lived afresh some time away from Vienna (near Heidelberg) to return there again in 1878. Brahms is not only the first among recent composers of songs, his choral works *(Chorlieder, German Requiem, Schicksalslied, Triumphlied, Rinaldo, Rhapsodie)* as well as his orchestral works (4 symphonies, several overtures) concertos (2 pianoforte concertos, a violin concerto, a double concerto for violin and violoncello) and chamber music (sonatas, trios, quartets, etc.) give him a high rank. Next to Brahms, we must mention Max Bruch, born 6th January 1838, who, however, is less a composer of songs than a choral composer *(Frithjof, Odysseus, Das Lied von der Glocke, Arminius, Achilleus);* he has also made several essays as an opera composer. Bruch, in contrast to the more eclectic Brahms, strives above everything for euphony.

171. How did the opera develop after Mozart and Gluck?

The first notes which Beethoven struck, not only in his *Fidelio* (1804) but in his music generally, necessarily exercised a lasting influence especially on the future work of German opera composers; almost simultaneously with Beethoven, Cherubini and Spontini drew art into more serious paths. Luigi Cherubini, born 1760 at Florence, died 1842 in Paris, where from 1821 he was director of of the *Conservatoire*, grew to manhood during the opposition of the Gluckists and Piccinists, and became an opera composer of original, almost classical character, and at the same time an extraordinarily esteemed church composer. On the stage his *Les deux journées*

* Died 3rd April, 1897.

still survives, and in the concert room a number of overtures *(Anacreon, Les Abencerrages, Lodoiska)*. Gasparo Spontini, born 1774, at Marjolati (district of Ancona) died at that place 1851, was entirely unknown until, in 1807, in Paris, with his *La Vestale*, he appeared as a composer in the pompous style and quickly became the hero of the day. Then followed *Fernand Cortez* (1809) and *Olympia* (1819). In 1821, he went to Berlin as general music-director, but made himself so disliked by his pride and assumption that the theatre-going public, in 1839, compelled him to resign his post as conductor. In Spontini's lead followed further: — Jacob Meyerbeer, born 5th September 1791, at Berlin, died 2nd May in Paris (pupil of Abbé Vogler); he was at first an old-fashioned German composer, went then to Italy, and became a genuine Italian (to the extent even of writing an opera every year) and finally to Paris, where he also incorporated in himself the traditions of the grand opera. In 1831, with *Robert le Diable*, he conquered Paris, followed this in 1836 with *Les Huguenots*, and was at the height of his position when, in 1842, Friedrich Wilhelm IV. appointed him Spontini's successor as general music-director. His last works were: *Das Feldlager in Schlesien, L' Etoile du Nord, Le Prophète* (1843), *Dinorah* and *L'Africaine* (performed in 1865). Meyerbeer's importance lies in his operas, and will die with them. Notwithstanding many unquestionably grand moments, these are losing their effect more and more, at least, upon the German public, and the hollowness of the Meyerbeer pathos becomes continually more obvious. The playing with dynamic contrasts, which, for the sake of effect, Meyerbeer so readily employs, and the only too visible laying out of the solo and ensemble numbers in view of gaining applause, and other proved means, whatever they may be, of gaining success, cannot stand the test of thorough aesthetical analysis. Meyerbeer certainly possessed an eminent musical gift, and had acquired great mastery in the government of forms and in the means of representation; but he wanted that high conception of his artistic calling, which would have enabled him to make the effect a result, instead of an aim.

Even true Italian opera, however, did not yet become extinct, although its best representatives went over to the

French grand opera. Gioacchino Rossini, born 29th Feby. 1792, at Pesaro, died 13th Nov. 1868, at Paris, was especially the master who once more made Italy admired as the land of the *bel canto*, when in 1816, he brought his *Il Barbiere di Seviglia* to a performance in Rome, a work which is as immortal as Mozart's Figaro. In his opera *Othello* (1816) Rossini for the first time abandons entirely the *recitativo secco* written only in thorough-bass. A long series of operas by Rossini are now forgotten, but the work with which he gained the greatest success, *Guillaume Tell* (Paris 1829), in which therefore he followed in Cherubini's and Spontini's footsteps, seeing that he ceased writing in the Italian manner, was at the same time his last. When scarcely 37 years of age Rossini ceased definitely to write for the stage, although he had still nearly 40 years to live.

A native Frenchman was J. Fromental Halévy, (born 1799 in Paris, died there 1862), whose chief work, *La Juive*, was produced in Paris in 1835. With this work he placed himself in the front rank among composers of the grand opera. The French comic opera received fresh life through Franc Daniel Esprit Auber, born 1782 at Caen, died 1871, at Paris, but his *La Muette de Portici* (1828), placed Auber in the repertoire of the grand opera beside Rossini and Meyerbeer; his most famous comic operas are: — *Le Maçon* (1825) and *Fra Diavolo* (1830). Beside Auber, as a composer of comic opera, stands François Adrien Boieldieu, born 1775 at Rouen died 1834 near Paris [chief works *Jean de Paris* (1812), *Petit Chaperon Rouge* (1818) and *La Dame Blanche* (1825)]. Also L. J. Ferd. Hérold, born 1791, at Paris, died there 1833 (*Zampa* 1831, *Le Pré aux Clercs* 1832), and Adolphe Adam, born 1803 in Paris, died there 1856, (*Le Postillon de Longjumeau*, 1836) were contemporaries of Auber. The lyric endowed opera composers: Charles Gounod, born 17th June, 1818*, (*Faust*, *La Reine de Saba* 1862, *Romeo et Juliette* 1867, the oratorios *Mors et Vita* and *The Redemption*), and Ambroise Thomas, born 5th August 1811, at Metz**; since 1871, director of the Paris Conservatoire (*Mignon* 1866, *Hamlet* 1868, *Françoise de Rimini* 1882), wrote decidedly under German influence. To these, not to be obliged to come back to France, we must add at once the very youngest: — Georges Bizet, born 1838, in Paris, died 1875 (*Carmen*

* Died 17th Oct. 1893, Paris. ** Died 12th Feb. 1896, Paris.

1875); Léo Delibes, born 1836 at St. Germain du Val, died 16th January 1891 in Paris (*Le Roi l'a dit* 1873, ballets: *Naila*, *Coppelia*, *Sylvia*); Jules Massenet, born 12th May 1842 (*Herodiade* 1855, *Cid* 1886); and Camille Saint-Saëns born 9th October 1835 (*Etienne Marcel*, *Henry VIII.* [1883]). Beside these earnest-working composers, there have been, from the middle of the century, composers in Paris who have devoted themselves to the perverted taste of the many, viz., the operetta composers Hervé (*Florimond Ronger*) born 1825, who first introduced the coquettish miniature music, his gifted imitator Jaques Offenbach, born 21st June 1819 at Cologne, died 5th Oct. 1880 in Paris (*Orphée aux Enfers*, *La belle Helène*, *La vie de Paris*, *La grande-duchesse de Gerolstein*, etc.) and the scarcely less favourite Al. Ch. Lecocq, born 3rd June 1832, in Paris (*Mademoiselle Angot*, *Girofle-Girofla*, etc.). Of the Paris operetta, the basis of which are pretty quadrilles, the Vienna operetta with its favourite waltzes is a branch; the chief representatives of the latter are, — Johann Strauss, born 25th Oct. 1825 at Vienna, son of the famous old 'Waltz King' (*Die Fledermaus*, *Prince Methusalem*, *Der Zigeunerbaron*), Franz von Suppé, born 18th April 1820, in Dalmatia (*Zehn Mädchen und kein Mann*, *Flotte Bursche*, *Fatinitza*, *Boccaccio*), and Karl Millöcker, born 29th May 1842 in Vienna (*Der Bettelstudent*).

While Italy still maintained its fame in Vincenzo Bellini (born 1801 died 1835, *La Sonnambula*, *Norma*, 1831), Gaetano Donizetti (born 1797, died 1848; *Lucia di Lammermoor* 1835, *La fille du Régiment*, etc.), Giuseppe Verdi, born 9th Oct. 1813 (*Rigoletto* 1851, *Il Trovatore* 1853, *La Traviata*, *Aida* 1871, *Otello* 1887) and lately Arrigo Boito, born 24th Feby. 1842, England had also an Italian opera composer of English descent to show, — Michael William Balfe, born 15th May 1808 in Dublin, died 20th Oct. 1870 at Rowney Abbey (The Bohemian Girl 1843, The Daughter of St. Mark 1844). Germany, meanwhile, prudently advanced step by step towards the attainment of a truly national musical drama. The names of Spohr, Weber, Marschner, Wagner, mark the principal stages upon this road. Ludwig Spohr, the famous violin *virtuoso*, conspicuous in whose school were Ferdinand David and Johann Böhm, the founders respectively of the Leipzig

and Vienna violin school, born 5th April 1784 at Brunswick, died 22nd Oct. 1859 at Cassel, in 1805 music-director at Gotha, 1812 music-director at a Vienna theatre, for the rest, mostly travelling, until finally in 1822 he was appointed music-director to the Court of Cassel. But a much more important step forwards was made by Weber, as he knew how to illustrate the demoniacal in music more strikingly than Spohr, and at the same time to touch the true national note in his melodies. The true full romance of the forest, sea, chivalry and fairyland, become instinct with life in Weber's Freischütz, Euryanthe and Oberon. Karl Maria von Weber was born 18th Dec. 1786 at Eutin, and died 5th June 1826 in London. For his musical education he was indebted to Michael Haydn and the Abbé Vogler. In 1804 he already became music-director at the *Stadttheater* at Breslau, and in 1806 *Musikintendant* to Duke Eugen of Wurtemberg, in 1810 he was studying again under Vogler in Darmstadt, in 1811 he produced *Abu Hassan* in Munich, in 1812, in Berlin *Silvana*, and in 1813 was made music-director at the state theatre of Prague, and in 1817, already, music-director of the German opera in course of foundation at Dresden. The fact that it was necessary here to give the national art an equal prominence with the Italian, impelled Weber to very expressly emphasize the national one. So he wrote his *Freischütz*, but brought it out not in Dresden but in Berlin (18th June 1821). *Preciosa* had already been produced, *Euryanthe* followed in 1823 and finally *Oberon* in London (12th April 1826). Weber had long been delicate in the chest, and from his journey to London to put his *Oberon* on the stage, he never returned. Besides his operas, Weber wrote most distinguished works for the pianoforte partly as solos and partly with other instruments. He was himself a formidable pianist with extraordinary *Spannvermögen* (length and elasticity of the hand and fingers). Heinrich Marschner, born 16th August 1796, at Zittau, died 14th Dec. 1861 in Hanover, followed further on the road opened by Weber. In 1824, Weber appointed him music-director at the opera in Dresden, after having already in 1820 produced an opera by Marschner. As Marschner, upon the death of Weber, was not appointed his successor, he went to Leipzig as music-director at the theatre. There he wrote the *Vampyr* (1828) and *Templer*

und Jüdin (1829). In Hanover, whither he was called in 1831 as court music-director, he finally produced his most famous work, *Hans Heiling (1833)*. His other works are now forgotten. More strikingly than Weber, Marschner knew how to hit with energy upon the right expression for the demoniacal, and in the naturalness of his melodic forms he showed himself Weber's appointed heir. In Richard Wagner the national art came, so to speak, to full self-consciousness, because it was he who defined its aims clearly and exactly, and contributed largely himself to its attainment. Wagner was born 22nd May 1813 in Leipzig, and died at Venice 13th Feby. 1883. His father Friedrich Wagner, was a police official, but a passionate lover of the drama, a taste that passed to several of Wagner's brothers and sisters; for his eldest brother, Albert, father of Johanna Jachmann-Wagner, was esteemed later as a singer and actor, and his eldest sister Rosalie, afterwards the wife of Oswald Marbach, was once a chief ornament of the Leipzig *Stadttheater*. Wagner lost his father when scarcely six months old; his mother married the actor and comedian Ludwig Geyer in Dresden, but he also died as early as 1820. Wagner now grew up in Dresden, where he attended the *Kreuzschule*, and received in many ways profitable stimulus for his talents. He finished a course at the *Nicolaigymnasium*, had the benefit of pianoforte instruction from the organist Gottlieb Müller, and, while inscribed as student of philosophy at the university, had regular lessons in counterpoint from Weinlig. His earliest compositions are in no respect extraordinary, but, for those who know the master in his latest works, they are highly interesting through certain individual features in respect to melody as well as harmony. In 1829, there appeared in print, — a sonata (op. 1) and a polonaise (op. 2), besides which he wrote a string quartet, an overture with a closing fugue, a symphony (the last two performed in 1833 at the *Gewandhaus*). His first sketch of an opera was disapproved by his sister, and both the text and the partly-written composition found their way into the fire. In 1833, he wrote an opera at his brother's at Würzburg, viz, *Die Feen* (Text after Gozzi's *Die Frau als Schlange**) which, however, he vainly offered for performance on the stage at Leipzig. In 1834, he entered on a practical career as music-direc-

* La Donna serpente.

tor at the Magdeburg *Stadttheater;* there he wrote a second opera, — *Das Liebesverbot* (after Shakespeare's Measure for Measure), which in 1836, though with only medium success, was put on the stage. Soon afterwards the opera-company was dissolved, so Wagner, who in the meantime had married Minna Planer, undertook the post of music-director at the *Stadttheater* at Königsberg, but, owing to the bankruptcy of the managers, this, before the lapse of a year, came to an end.

Already in the autumn of 1837 he undertook the position of music-director at the theatre newly opened under Holtei at Riga; he also conducted subscription concerts there, at which he produced two overtures *(Columbus* and *Rule Britannia).* In 1839, the young artist, striving earnestly onwards, turned with his wife, by way of London, to Paris. Here began a hard time; to gain the necessary means of subsistence, he found himself compelled to do the work of a musical drudge, make all kinds of transcriptions of most inferior music for the music-publishers, compose French romances, and write for the daily press, etc. The transcription of Halévy's *Reine de Chipre* was the close of this humiliating epoch, which, however, was without doubt highly profitable to Wagner, as he had opportunity of studying the distinguished productions of the Parisian grand opera, and of hearing the works of his predecessors in the domain of dramatic composition given in most perfect performance. During this first three-years' stay in Paris (1839—42), Wagner besides his arrangements etc., wrote the *Faust - Ouvertüre,* completed *Rienzi* begun at Riga, and wrote and composed the *Fliegender Holländer,* to which he was incited by his stormy voyage from Riga to London. *Rienzi* was performed at Dresden; the *Fliegender Holländer,* through Meyerbeer's recommendation, in Berlin; and Wagner advanced towards his first triumph when in 1842 he started on his journey back to Germany. The means for the journey he had obtained by the above-named pianoforte transcription and the sale of the text-book of his *Fliegender Holländer* to the Paris grand opera: the latter shortly afterwards brought a French version of the same, by Paul Foucher with music by Dietsch on the stage *(Le vaisseau fantôme).*

The first performance of "Cola Rienzi, the last of the tribunes", took place at Dresden 20th Oct. 1842. The

success was such that Wagner was induced to request the return of his score of the *Fliegende Holländer* from Berlin, where it would probably have had to wait long for a performance, and so, 2nd January 1843, the *Flying Dutchman* was also first put on the stage in Dresden. But meanwhile, Wagner had been appointed court music-director in place of Rastrelli just deceased. The impression made by the *Flying Dutchman* was extraordinary. If *Rienzi* was still strongly influenced by Meyerbeer and by the traditions of the Parisian grand opera in general, out of the *Flying Dutchman* the "innovator" Wagner sprang forth in full armour. With this opera dates the rise of two parties; one for, the other against Wagner.

Wagner now displayed an admirable activity; as a conductor he rose to great esteem by his masterly performances of the works of Gluck. However great became the opposition to his reformed ideas Wagner worked on unmoved. Oct. 19, 1845, *Tannhäuser, oder der Sängerkrieg auf der Wartburg*, was put upon the stage first in Dresden, and Wagner was at this time already occupied composing the texts of *Lohengrin*, the *Meistersinger*, indeed of the *Nibelungen*. Among compositions of this time are still to be named: — a cantata for the Dresden *Sängerfest* in 1843, further *Das Liebesmahl der Apostel* (a kind of oratorio), and an arrangement of Gluck's *Iphigenia in Aulis*. As a special act the performance in 1846 of Beethoven's ninth symphony is to be recorded. At the re-interment of the mortal remains of Weber, brought from London to Dresden (1844), Wagner delivered the funeral oration and wrote and composed a funeral cantata. The agitated year of 1848 drew Wagner also into its circle; he presented the ministry with a "plan of a national theatre for the kingdom of Saxony"; that this received no consideration, was probably one of the causes of his taking part in the May insurrection of 1849, the suppression of which drove Wagner to flight; he directed his way first to Liszt at Weimar, afterwards to Paris, and, after a short stay, to Zurich, which became for several years his fixed quarters. His next productions were the pamphlets: — *Art and the Revolution (1849)*, *The Art of the Future (1850)*, *Art and Climate (1850)*, *Opera and Drama (1851)* and *A communication to my friends* (matters autobiographical and autocritical, 1851). Also the complete

text of the *Nibelungen* appeared already in 1853. — *Lohengrin* written in 1847, was performed for the first time at Weimar 28th Aug. 1850, through Liszt, Wagner's self-sacrificing friend, to whom he also owed the performance of *Tannhäuser* as early as 1853, on a great number of German stages. In 1855 Wagner was called to London, to conduct the concerts of the Philharmonic Society during the season. In 1860, he visited Paris and Brussels for the further propagation of his works; but three concerts which took place in the *Salle Ventadour* cost him about 10,000 francs; the performance of Tannhäuser at the Paris grand opera, by order of the Emperor himself, met with the violent opposition of a clique in the Parisian public, and Wagner found himself compelled, after the third performance, to withdraw the work. To the time of this renewed visit to Paris (1860—61), belongs the pamphlet, *The Music of the Future.* Meanwhile Wagner had been pardoned, and directed his way from Paris to Germany, in the first place to Karlsruhe and Vienna.

In both towns the opera *Tristan und Isolde*, finished in 1859, was accepted for performance, the work which marks the beginning of the third period in Wagner's activity (absorption of the melody in song-speech, the higher kind of recitative peculiar to Wagner, the transference of the centre of gravity of the thematic work to the orchestra). In both towns, however, there was delay in putting the piece on the stage. In 1862 he lived at Biebrich on the Rhine, occupied with his composition of the *Meistersinger*, which was only interrupted for a concert tour to Prague and St. Petersburg, and continued in 1863 in Vienna. At last, the master saw himself all at once near the realization of his boldest plans when in 1864, King Ludwig II. of Bavaria, who had just ascended the throne, invited him to Munich, and presented him with a villa on the Starnberger lake. At the request of Wagner, his pupil Hans von Bülow was called to Munich, at first as court pianist, but in 1866 as director of the royal music-school to be reformed according to Wagner's proposals, and as music-director at the court theatre. It is known that Bülow's wife Cosima (daughter of Liszt) separated herself in 1869 from her husband and united herself with Wagner (whose first wife had died in

1866). *Tristan und Isolde* was first put upon the stage in 1865. Soon afterwards Wagner left Munich, to reside at Triebschen near Lucerne, where he finished the *Meistersinger*, and brought the *Nibelungen* nearer to completion.

On the 21st June 1868, *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, was performed for the first time in Munich. In reality, every new work of Wagner's after Rienzi, means a creation of abiding worth and, with the exception of *Tristan*, which cannot be performed on most German stages, an enriching of the repertoire. The young dream of Wagner, the composition of the great tetralogy: *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (Trilogy: Walküre, Siegfried, *Götterdämmerung* and *Vorspiel Rheingold)*, now approached its fulfilment, the heaven of the northern gods became peopled again in the consciousness of the people. The *Rheingold* was performed in Munich, 22nd September 1869, for the first time and the success was such that it promised the achievement of the grand undertaking on which Wagner meditated, viz., the establishment of a musical dramatical Festival, of a thoroughly national character devoted exclusively to the master-pieces of German art. In 1871, Wagner removed to Baireuth which he had selected as the site of the national theatre; at Whitsuntide 1872, the laying of the foundation stone of the *Festspielhaus* took place amid the liveliest interest of the friends (and enemies) of Wagner's music. A grand performance of Beethoven's ninth symphony with an orchestra composed entirely of artists (Hans Richter beat the kettle-drums) formed the worthy centre of the festival. At last, through the ceaseless activity of the Wagner-*Verein*, the sum required for the enterprise (900,000 marks) was obtained, and from the 13th—30th Aug. 1876, in the "provisional" *Festspielhaus*, the first three performances of the complete Festspiel, the *Ring des Nibelungen*, took place. A flood of pamphlets and newspaper articles for and against, was excited by it; the flood subsided, and the *Nibelungen* made its entry into one German city after another. Wagner's last work is the festival piece *Parsifal*, the first performance of which also took place under the master's personal leadership, 26th July 1882. The performance of Parsifal in other towns is not yet permitted by Wagner's widow. Wagner was scarcely less important as a writer than as a composer. He not only wrote the texts of all his stage pieces him-

self, but, in a considerable series of papers, has exhibited his aims, the future aims of German art, which will long operate as a law. His reform is similar to that which Lully, Rameau and Gluck aimed at in the French opera, only Wagner proceeded more radically, and restricted the development of the purely musical where he could. His operas, therefore are neither divided into separate complete numbers, nor have the songs any stereotyped form whatever, but all is adapted to the inner necessity of the development of the action. The music is not designed to be music which should produce a satisfactory artistic effect by itself alone; it seeks only in combination with the other factors, to aid the general effect. This is surely a grand thought, which commands complete admiration. In what measure Wagner has attained that for which he strove, is seen in the constantly increasing popularity of his works. His style in fact, rules taste at present, universally, and all his contemporaries adopt something of it; some, while they vainly seek to get beyond its ban, others, while endeavouring, without the requisite ability to surpass Wagner.

APPENDIX A.

The most important names in musical history.

Terpander, about 600 B. C.
Pythagoras, about 580—510 B. C.
Aristoxenos, about 350—300 B. C.
Ptolemy, in the 2nd Century B. C.
St. Ambrose of Milan, 333—397 A. D.
Boetius, 475—524 A. D.
Gregory I. the great, Pope, 594—604.
Notker Balbulus, 840—912.
Hucbald of St. Amand, about 840—930.
Guido d' Arezzo, about 995—1050.
Franco of Cologne, about 1190.
Jean de Muris, Philippe de Vitry, } about 1325.
John Dunstable, died 1458.
Guillaume Dufay, born about 1400, died 27th Nov. 1474.
Paul Hofhaimer, born 1459, died 1537.
Heinrich Isaak, about 1450—1517.
Heinrich Finck, died 28th Dec. 1558.
Johann Okeghem, about 1430—1520.
Josquin Deprès, Jacob Hobrecht, Pierre de La Rue, } about 1450— after 1500.
Ludwig Senfl, born about 1555.
Andrea Gabrieli, born about 1510, died 1586.
Giov. Pierl. da Palestrina, born about 1515, died 2nd Feb. 1594.
Joseffo Zarlino, born 22nd March 1517, died 14th Feb. 1509.
Orlando Lasso, born 1520, died 14th June 1594.
Giovanni Gabrieli, born 1557, died 12th Aug. 1612.
Emilio del Cavalieri, died 1599.
Giulio Caccini, Jacobi Peri, } about 1550 — about 1615.
Claudio Monteverde, 1568—1643.
Heinrich Schütz, born 8th Oct. 1585, died 6th Nov. 1672.

J. Bapt. Lully, born 1633, died 22nd March 1687.
Arcangelo Corelli, born 1653, died 18th Jan. 1713.
Henry Purcell, born about 1658, died 21st Nov. 1695.
Alessandro Scarlatti, born 1659, died 24th Oct. 1725.
Giov. Batt. Buononcini, born 1660, died about 1750.
François Couperin [the Great], born 10th Nov. 1668, died 1733.
J. Ph. Rameau, born 25th Sept. 1683, died 12th Sept. 1764.
Domenico Scarlatti, born 1685, died 1757.
George Frederick Handel, born 22nd Feb. 1685, died 14th Ap. 1759.
Johann Sebastian Bach, born 21st March 1685, died 28th July 1750.
Gius. Tartini, born 12th April 1692, died 16th Febr. 1770.
Joh. Ad. Hasse, born 25th May 1699, died end of 1783.
Giov. Batt. Pergolesi, born 4th Jan. 1710, died 17th April 1736.
Karl Ph. Emanuel Bach, born 14th March 1714, died 15th Dec. 1788.
Chr. Will. Gluck, born 16th July 1714, died 15th Nov. 1787.
Franç. André Danican Philidor, born 7th Sept. 1726, died 31st Aug. 1795.
Nicolo Piccini, born 16th Jan. 1728, died 7th May 1800.
Joh. Ad. Hiller, born 25th Dec. 1728, died 16th June 1804.
Joseph Haydn, born 1st April 1732, died 31st May 1809.
André Ern. Mart. Gretry, born 8th Feb. 1741, died 24th Sept. 1813.
Giov. Paesiello, born 9th May 1741, died 5th June 1816.
Domenico Cimarosa, born 17th Dec. 1749, died 11th Jan. 1801.
Muzio Clementi, born 1752, died 10th March 1832.
Wolfgang Am. Mozart, born 27th Jan. 1756, died 5th Dec. 1791.
Luigi Cherubini, born 14th Sept. 1760, died 15th March 1842.
Et. Nic. Méhul, born 22nd June 1763, died 18th Oct. 1817.
Ludwig van Beethoven, born 17th Dec. 1770, died 26th March 1827.
Gasparo Spontini, born 14th Nov. 1774, died 24th Jan. 1851.
Franç. Adrien Boieldieu, born 16th Dec. 1775, died 8th Oct. 1834.
Dan. Franç. Esprit Auber, born 29th Jan. 1782, died 13th May 1871.
Ludwig Spohr, born 5th April 1784, died 22nd Oct. 1859.
K. Maria von Weber, born 18th Dec. 1786, died 5th June 1826.
L. J. Ferd. Hérold, born 28th Jan. 1791, died 19th Jan. 1833.
Jacob Meyerbeer, born 5th Sept. 1791, died 2nd May 1864.
Gioacchino Rossini, born 29th Febr. 1792, died 13th Nov. 1868.
Heinrich Marschner, born 16th Aug. 1796, died 14th Dec 1861.
Franz Schubert, born 31st Jan. 1797, died 19th Nov. 1828
Fromental Halévy, born 27th May 1799, died 17th March 1862.
Vincenzo Bellini, born 3rd Nov. 1801, died 24tk Sept. 1835.
Adolphe Adam, born 24th July 1803, died 3rd May 1856.
Hector Berlioz, born 11th Dec. 1803, died 9th March 1869.
Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, born 3rd Feb. 1809, died 4th Nov. 1847.
Frédéric Chopin, born 22nd Feb. 1810, died 17th Oct. 1849.
Robert Schumann, born 8th June 1810, died 29th July 1856.
Franz Liszt, born 22nd Oct. 1811, died 1886.
Richard Wagner, born 22nd May 1813, died 13th Feb. 1883.
Johannes Brahms, born 7th May 1833, died 3rd April 1897.

APPENDIX B.

Selection from the Literature of Musical History.

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II. History of Instruments.

Schneider, Wilhelm, "*Historisch-technische Beschreibung der musikalischen Instrumente*" (1834).
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